The Public Image of Queen Victoria 1837-1861
Wife, Mother, and Queen Regnant

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The Public Image of Queen Victoria 1837-1861: Wife, Mother, and Queen Regnant

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Abstract

Upon her accession in 1837, Victoria became the young, female queen of a male-dominated society in which women had few rights, and the head of a nation that had long been stripping its monarch of the ability to rule as well as reign. Until her widowhood in 1861, the Queen faced the task of reconciling her roles as sovereign queen, or 'female king', and emblem of mid-nineteenth century 'true womanhood'. In this thesis I argue that authorized representations of the Queen proved a versatile and effective vehicle for the negotiation of her public image. I further suggest a method of interpreting her portraits that will take into account both of these themes that ran through her pictorial representation, fully placing her not only within the traditions of monarchical portraiture, but also within the context of her contemporaries. A wide range of media is examined, and particular attention is paid to the touring, engraving, and dissemination of these images, which gave the depictions of the Queen a reach and impact that was unprecedented.

While many of the explorations of Victoria's portraits that have preceded this thesis have shed light on the monarchical legacy, or have unpacked individual pictures, this thesis delves into the context in which her representations were created. Detailed comparisons with portraits of wealthy and aristocratic women show how deeply Victoria's representations were shaped by the conventions of female portraiture, allowing the Queen to align herself with the middle classes while at the same time maintaining enough of a distance to keep her sovereignty foremost. This aided in winning the hearts of her people, and in the solidification of her throne during times of trouble for many royal houses.

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Introduction

Sarah Stickney Ellis praised Queen Victoria in the introduction to her conduct book, *The Wives of England*, published in 1843. She wrote,

> In the person of our beloved QUEEN we have the character of a wife and a mother so blended with that of a sovereign, that the present above all others ought to form an era in British history, wherein woman shall have proved herself not unworthy of the importance attached to her influence and her name.[1]

Six years earlier, Victoria had found herself in the peculiar situation of becoming the young, female queen of a male-dominated society in which women had few rights. Unlike her predecessors, she was taxed with the need to combine the roles of woman, specifically wife and mother, and monarch, roles that did not blend easily, either practically or ideologically. I shall argue that authorized representations of the Queen proved a versatile and effective vehicle for the negotiation of her public image,[2] specifically in addressing the tension between her roles as sovereign queen, or 'female king', and emblem of mid-nineteenth century 'true womanhood'. I will also suggest a way of interpreting her portraits that will take into account both of these themes that ran through her image, placing her not only within the traditions of monarchical portraiture, but also within the context of likenesses of her contemporaries.

Victoria's unusual position, as a monarch who was both young and female, and who had a large family, and as a woman tasked with carrying out a sovereign role traditionally associated with masculinity, meant that she was deeply affected by the constitutionalization of the monarchy, and the entrenchment of the domestic ideology. The role of the monarch had long been reconfiguring from absolute to constitutional, a transformation that continued and intensified throughout the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Victoria reigned in an era that saw many of the European royal houses fall from power,

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[1] Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Wives of England, their relative duties, domestic influence and social* obligations, (London, 1843), 12.

[2] Although I do sometimes use the term 'image' to refer to visual representations, when I write about Victoria's public image, I am using the term to mean 'a concept or impression, created in the minds of the public, of a particular person…'. Oxford English Dictionary, 'image': http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/91618?rskey=Tf9k9I&result=1#eid. Accessed 13 March 2015.

as well as the formation of radical political movements**.** The Queen believed that allowing her subjects glimpses of her family and of her life was 'of use not to be described', identifying the royals with their subjects and vice versa, strengthening the connection between them and solidifying her position on the throne.[3]

The monarchy had been on an increasingly constitutional track for some time, with George III being credited as the last British sovereign to wield 'real power'.[4] By the time Victoria came to the throne, the monarch had lost the suspending and dispensing powers, the veto, the power of dissolution, and the command of honours and peerages.[5] As historian Frank Hardie suggested, 'the question of the power of the Crown had been settled by 1837. The question which had not been settled was that of its influence'.[6] The switch from 'power' to 'influence' experienced by the monarchy instituted what many have perceived as the feminization of the crown as it adjusted to its constitutional role of reigning, but not ruling.[7] As Charles Beem has noted, the role of king, whether filled by a man or a woman, 'was fashioned almost entirely from socially constructed male roles: military leader, dispenser of justice, representative of God, and father'.[8] However, David Cannadine has argued that 'constitutional monarchy is in fact emasculated monarchy, and thus a feminized

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[3] Queen Victoria to Baron Stockmar, 19 July 1851, as quoted in Theodore Martin, *The life of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, ii, (New York, 1875-9), 314.

[4] David Sinclair, *Two Georges: the making of the modern monarchy* (London, 1988), 3. Exactly when and how this transition to a constitutional monarchy came about has long been debated. For further discussion, see: David Cannadine, 'When did the British monarchy become a constitutional monarchy?', Plenary lecture at the Monarchy Conference, Kensington Palace, 2012, accessible via podcast; John Cannon, *The modern British monarchy: a study in adaptation* (Reading, 1987); Frank Hardie, *The political influence of Queen Victoria 1861-1901* (London, 1963); Tom Nairn, *The enchanted glass: Britain and its monarchy* (London, 1994); Jonathan Parry, 'Whig monarchy, Whig nation: Crown, politics and representativeness 1800-2000', in Andrzej Olechnowicz (ed.), *The monarchy and the British nation, 1780 to the present* (Cambridge, 2007), 47-75.

[5] Cannon, 3-4.

[6] Hardie, 237.

[7] Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'The feminization of the monarchy 1780-1910: royal masculinity and female empowerment', in Olechnowicz), 76; Frank Prochaska, *Royal bounty: the making of a welfare monarchy* (London, 1995).

[8] Charles Beem, *The lioness roared: the problems of female rule in English history* (Hampshire, 2006), 6.

version of an essentially male institution'. He cited the loss of the monarch's role as 'god and governor and general', and the assumption of feminine aspects such as 'family, domesticity, maternity and glamour' as evidence of this trajectory.[9]

Vernon Bogdanor has also explored the monarch's changing role in his discussion of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's beleaguered attempts to use their influence to strengthen the monarch's political role in the face of decreasing power.[10] As David Craig has argued, Victoria held tenaciously to the prerogatives that remained to her, though the extent to which she did so was largely hidden. [11] Thus, she seemed to the uninvolved public to wield even less power than actually remained to her, and appeared to take on a more detached, influential role than she actually did.[12]

In the mid-nineteenth century, the term 'influence' was also used to describe a defining trait of middle-class femininity. A prize-winning essay on women's rights, printed in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in 1854, praised 'that quiet, secluded, gentle sphere of all-powerful influence, which exercises such vast sway over the moral destinies of mankind', and which was 'a thousand times more potent and efficacious' than power wielded directly outside the home.[13] In this sense, influence was deemed the natural province of woman, and it more than compensated for the rights she lacked.

Margaret Homans articulated the ties between these two types of influence – the role assigned to women and the situation of the crown - when

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[9] David Cannadine, 'From biography to history: writing the modern British monarchy', *Historical Research*, 77, 197 (2004), 303.
[10] Prince Albert was a prominent influence on Victoria during the years of their marriage (1840-1861), and his life and works have proven a fertile topic for scholars. See, for example, Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: his life and work* (London, 1983); Robert Rhodes James, *Albert, Prince Consort: a biography* (London, 1983); Stanley Weintraub, *Uncrowned king: the life of Prince Albert* (London, 1997); Helen Rappaport, *Magnificent obsession: Victoria, Albert and the death that changed the monarchy* (Bath, 2012); and Karina Urbach, 'Prince Albert: the creative consort', in Charles Beem and Miles Taylor, *The man behind the queen: male consorts in history* (Basingstoke, 2014), 145-162.
[11] Vernon Bogdanor, *The monarchy and the constitution* (Oxford, 1995), 19-23; David M. Craig, 'The crowned republic? Monarchy and anti-monarchy in Britain, 1760-1901', *The Historical Journal*, 46, 1 (2003), 177.
[12] Cannon, 13.
[13] Annie C., 'The rights of woman', *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, 3 (1854-1855), 75, 78.

she argued that, '…the terms through which Victorian culture defines and contests woman's 'sphere' uncannily echo the distinctive discourse of constitutional monarchy: passivity, moral power, duty, and being and appearing in lieu of originating or executing politically engaged action.'[14] The role of the monarch may have been understood by Victoria, her minsters, and her subjects generally as analogous to the role of the wife, and as finding a literal amalgamation in the person of the Queen.

The domestic elements of Victoria's portraiture were framed not only by the desire to express monarchical power and to visually reaffirm her place in Britain's royal lineage, but also by the cultural expectations of women during her reign. Victoria's pictorial representation helped to reassure her subjects that it was she, and not her foreign-born husband, who ruled, and yet they did so without portraying her womanhood as aberrant and setting a dangerous example to the wives and daughters of Britain. The domestic ideology, of which Queen Victoria came to be emblematic, presented the home as a safe haven from the world, with woman as its custodian.[15] Physically and intellectually inferior but morally superior to man, the 'true woman' was responsible for guiding her husband and children safely through the moral dilemmas they faced in the public world, and for supporting them emotionally and logistically from the home. Modesty, purity, gentleness, and patience were among her defining characteristics.[16]

This ideology did not go uncontested, nor were the women affected by it a homogenous group. As Mary Poovey has argued, women experienced the formation of the ideology differently according to their class and race, along with other factors such as religious affiliation and marital status. The unevenness of their experience was further complicated by the different ways in which it was articulated by the variety of 'institutions, discourses, and

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[14] Homans, *Royal representations: Queen Victoria and British culture, 1837-1876* (London, 1998), xx.
[15] Catherine Hall, *White, male and middle class: explorations in feminism and history* (Cambridge, 1992), 60; Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a heartless world* (London, 1977).
[16] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850* (London, 1987), 170; Excelsior, 'The Attributes of a True Lady', *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, 3 (1854-1855), 161-192.

practices that it both constituted and was constituted by'.[17] There is also considerable evidence that the ideals of womanhood were constantly being challenged and redefined.[18] The domestic ideology has also proven complicated for modern scholars. Amanda Vickery is one who has taken issue with the suggestion that 'sometime between 1650 and 1850 the public/private distinction was constituted or radically reconstituted in a way that transformed relations between the sexes.'[19] She suggested instead that 'a female withdrawal from active enterprise was essentially a function of increasing wealth', and was one that was repeatedly visible in early modern history.[20] Regardless, Victoria's letters and journal entries reveal that she was deeply invested in and affected by prevailing notions of womanhood, and they played a prominent role in her representation.

John Cannon suggested that one way in which the crown dealt with the changes affecting the monarchy was by 'adopting a less remote attitude, appealing to a wider range of its subjects and concerning itself greatly with its public image'.[21] This public image expanded quickly beyond personal appearances and state portraiture to include an ever-broadening range of written sources, widely disseminated engravings, photographs, and other reproductions of the monarch's increasingly informal artistic representation. Richard Ormond suggested that Victoria's reign was a 'significant turning point' in the manner in which a monarch's power (or influence) was conveyed visually,[22] and Ira B. Nadel has called attention to the plethora of objects on which her portrait was placed, stating that 'no sovereign had her image reproduced more often than Victoria'.[23]

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[17] Mary Poovey, *Uneven developments: the ideological work of gender in mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988), 3.
[18] Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, 149, 155.
[19] Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36, 2 (1993), 411-2.
[20] Vickery, 409.
[21] Cannon, 5.
[22] Richard Ormond, *The face of the monarchy: British royalty portrayed* (Oxford, 1977), 34.
[23] Ira B. Nadel, 'Portraits of the Queen', *Victorian Poetry*, 25, 3-4 (1987), 169. This is, of course, partly due simply to the longevity of her reign, and to the technological advances that occurred at this time.

The impact of visual images during Victoria's reign was increasing due to a combination of factors, such as the 1833 Education Act, the invention of the rotary printing press in 1837, the use of Esparto grass for paper beginning in 1850, and the elimination of the stamp duty in 1855.[24] Pictures began to be included in periodicals, and were placed on anything that would take an image, ranging from postage stamps to souvenir mugs and tea towels.[25] The oil paintings themselves gained increased visibility through national tours, and were reproduced as engravings that were available for purchase at various prices as well as being hung in print shop windows to be seen by passers-by. They formed part of the sea of images that faced the wandering public each day, and formed part of their visual interpretation of the world around them, and of Victoria herself.

Michael Levey argued that Victoria believed the domestic elements of her portraits to be highly efficacious in aligning herself ideologically with her subjects and thereby gaining their affection and devotion, as they had been for George III, and ascribed considerable agency to Victoria herself in their emphasis on what she referred to as her 'happy domestic home'.[26] The question of Victoria's agency is far from settled, and has been debated by scholars such as Margaret Homans, Susan P. Casteras, and John Plunkett.[27] While there is not much direct evidence, it is highly likely that Victoria's image was the result of wide range of motivations and stakeholders. Prince Albert, the Queen's ministers, members of the court, members of the press, artists, and many others were involved in creating and controlling her public image. It is worth noting, however, that Victoria was herself a talented artist. She began lessons in 1827, learning drawing and watercolour painting from Richard Westall, R. A.

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[24] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and desire in the woman's magazine 1800-1914* (London, 1996), 61.
[25] Nadel, 169-191; John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: first media monarch* (Oxford, 2003).
[26] Michael Levey, *Painting at court* (London, 1971), 195; Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher (eds.), Queen Victoria, *The letters of Queen Victoria: a selection of Her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837 and 1861*, (London, 1907), 27; Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 29 October 1844.
[27] Homans, *Royal representations*; Susan P. Casteras. 'The wise child and her "offspring": some changing faces of Queen Victoria', in Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (eds.), *Remaking Queen Victoria* (Cambridge, 1997), 182-199; and Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: first media monarch*.

After her marriage, both the Queen and Prince Consort took lessons from Sir Edwin Landseer and Sir George Hayter, learning how to etch. Victoria's preferred medium seems to have been watercolour, and she kept sketchbooks full of her paintings of her family, and of places that she visited.[28] Her knowledge and skill, and the close associations she formed with the artists who tutored her, were surely advantageous in the navigation of her visual image.

The portrayals analysed in this thesis were authorized by the Queen, if not commissioned by her, and as such they provide insights into the facets of her persona believed to be most valuable and effective in the building of her public image, as well as highlighting the ways in which Victoria and those who participated in her representation were affected by the contemporary cultural context. Victoria's sex and her youth at the time of her accession, which created a stark contrast to her royal uncles George IV and William IV, necessitated the revision of the traditions of monarchical portraiture. The resulting works were heavily informed by the social and political context in which she reigned. As this thesis focuses in part on the complications presented by Victoria's youth, femininity, and maternity, the discussion will be limited to the years of 1837, the year she inherited the throne, and 1861, after which her persona shifted into the 'Widow of Windsor'. Wearing mourning for the rest of her life, and going into long periods of seclusion, her public image changed dramatically from what it had been during Albert's lifetime, and would require a complete study of its own.

The existing traditions of royal portraiture worked to construct a narrative of legitimate monarchy leading up to the reign of the sitter, as well as establishing his or her personality, wealth, regal stature, and relationship to the populace.[29] Hans Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII lingers even now in the popular consciousness as a definitive image of royal power and divine authority,[30] while Charles I and Van Dyck's artistic collaboration has rarely been matched, and Johann Zoffany's paintings of George III and his family

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[28] Marina Warner, *Queen Victoria's sketchbook* (London, 1979), 14, 96.
[29] Nicola Smith, *The royal image and the English people* (Aldershot, 2001). See also Christopher Lloyd, 'Portraits of Sovereigns and Heads of State' in Norman Rosenthal et al, *Citizens and kings: portraits in the age of revolution 1760-1830* (London, 2007), 60-79.
[30] As the original was destroyed in 1698, this work is known through the cartoon in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and through surviving copies.

introduced an air of informality and an emphasis on the family that would be increasingly visible in the following generations.[31]

During Victoria's reign, the long-standing traditions of royal portraiture shifted even further from the formal to the familial. While formal state portraits were still commissioned from artists such as Alfred Edward Chalon, Thomas Sully, Sir Francis Grant, David Wilkie, George Hayter, and Franz Xaver Winterhalter, they were heavily outnumbered by less formal individual and family pictures.[32] Such shifts in pictorial traditions were due in part to the particular combination of political and social changes that came to a head in her era.

According to Lara Perry, the portraits of Victoria that most successfully combined the two characters of a female monarch – woman and queen - are those in which she is 'invested simultaneously with the roles of ruler and subject, leader and follower'. Feminist art historian Deborah Cherry posited that Victoria and those who represented her accomplished this by 'reworking earlier traditions of female royal portraits and new notions of the family'. As a result of this her pictorial body 'was inscribed in terms of its reproductive capacity to generate a dynasty at the same time as it was invested as the somatic sign of sovereignty.'[33]

The portraits of her large family can certainly be read as visual confirmations of the continuity of the royal line, and a number of her individual portraits contain references to her femininity, moral purity, and her marriage to Prince Albert, even in formal pictures that ostensibly highlight her role as sovereign. It is the combination of these elements that Cherry viewed as a modernisation and feminisation of the concept of 'the king's two bodies'.[34] As Adrienne Munich stated, her 'maternal body belonged to the private sphere

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[31] Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany, 1733-1810* (New Haven, 2011), 228-230. See also Penelope Treadwell, *Johan Zoffany: artist and adventurer* (London, 2009); and Martin Postle (ed.), *Johan Zoffany RA: society observed* (London, 2011).
[32] Only a small fraction, approximately eight of one hundred and fifty of Victoria's paintings, photographs, and sculptures, adhere to the traditions of state portraiture. Precise figures are made difficult by the lack of a totally comprehensive list of her portraits, since Richard Ormond's list is extensive, but incomplete. Richard Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits* (London, 1973), 474-493.
[33] Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London, 2000), 125.
[34] Ibid., 125.

while her sovereign body belonged to the public sphere'.[35] This was, however, complicated by the fact that her maternal body was what filled the public role traditionally assigned to the queen consort, that of bearing an heir to the throne, and that it was the public representation of her private life that aided in the stabilisation of the monarchy.

This is not to say, however, that the domestic elements of Victoria's portraiture, including the presence of her children, the relaxation of formal poses to indicate the relatively casual atmosphere of the home, and the general lack of royal paraphernalia, were any less contrived than the conventionally monarchical ones. Dorothy Thompson and Bernd Weisbrod each argued that the overtly domestic images of the royal family employed stagecraft to present a familial ideal that they were not, in reality, living.[36] Referring to this '"masquerade" of bourgeois normalcy', Susan P. Casteras suggested that Victoria's representation as an innocent, delicate young woman or a dignified, respectable, average wife and mother significantly reduced the threat her femininity posed to her monarchical authority, and was therefore strategically accentuated.[37]

Margaret Homans examined the concept of the domestic stagecraft in Victoria's representations in greater depth, arguing that the queen understood the conflict inherent in her womanhood and sovereignty, and that she chose to use what power remained to her by relinquishing it for the safer, subtler, and more traditionally feminine influence. Homans suggested that Victoria's strategic identification with the ideal middle-class wife lent strength and credence to her position, and that it may have 'made her seem ordinary, but its meaning and effectiveness depended on the contrast with her extraordinariness'.[38]

This juxtaposition of the ordinary and the extraordinary gained its impact from the context in which images of the Queen were created. Colleen

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[35] Adrienne Munich, 'Queen Victoria, empire, and excess', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 6, 2 (1987), 265.
[36] Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: gender and power* (London, 1990), 42; Bernd Weisbrod, 'Theatrical Monarchy: The making of Victoria, the modern family queen', in Regina Schulte (ed.), *The Body of the Queen* (New York, 2006), 238-253.
[37] Casteras, 'The wise child', 189.
[38] Homans, *Royal representations*, 5.

Denney has emphasised the fact that any sitter, royal or otherwise, was subject to artistic convention. She noted that in the nineteenth century, 'truth and realism', as opposed to the overt idealization of the sitter, became key.[39] The advent of photography in the 1830s had contributed to the idea that it was possible to represent what appeared to be an unmediated truth, and this prospect affected other art forms. While the arguments regarding the element of stagecraft in Victoria's portraiture would seem to belie this emphasis on realism, the images in question highlight an informal and intimate side of royal life. These works created the illusion of 'truth' by revealing what had spent centuries obscured by codified royal pageantry. In doing so, they continued the process that had begun in Johann Zoffany's representations of the family of George III.

These questions of representational 'truth', stagecraft, and the social and political influences on Victoria's portrayal have been addressed fleetingly by a number of scholars, but in depth by relatively few.[40] Susan P. Casteras' chapter in Homans and Munich's *Remaking Queen Victoria* (1997) focused on the Queen's early years, examining the representation of her youth and innocence in its royal context. The themes of class and gender that she explores are thus left at the threshold of her queenship, which is where this thesis begins. Furthermore, although Casteras avers that Victoria's girlhood portraits were 'identical in feeling and content with representations of almost any other well-bred female child', she presents no visual sources or references to back up this claim.[41]

Margaret Homans's *Royal representations* (1998) was the main work on this topic until it was joined in 2010 by John Plunkett's *Queen Victoria: first media monarch*.[42] While Homans's close readings yield interesting insights into

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[39] Colleen Denney, *Women, portraiture and the crisis of identity in Victorian England* (Surrey, 2009), 6-7.
[40] Thomas Richards has written an interesting chapter on Queen Victoria's image, but it specifically addresses the time period around her jubilee celebrations, which are outside the remit of this thesis. Thomas Richards, *The commodity culture of Victorian England: advertising and spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, 1990), chapter 2.
[41] Casteras, 'The wise child', 183.
[42] Deirdre Shearman's unpublished thesis is also applicable, although it focuses largely on the aspect of patronage. Deirdre Shearman, 'The image of Victoria, patronage, profits and patriotism' (Brandeis University PhD thesis, 1996).

Victoria's situation and her own manipulation of it, they are directed toward analyses of the gender relations visible within various paintings and photographs of Victoria, with very little sense of conversation going on between them and no consultation of images of her contemporaries. John Plunkett's research, on the other hand, focuses on engravings and their role in the development of print media, using Victoria's representation as the lens for this discussion. While each of these scholars has explored Victoria's pictorial representation, they have done so narrowly, looking only at the depictions of the Queen herself, resulting in an incomplete picture of Victoria and the royal image she, her ministers, and the artists she employed, cultivated. Most recently, Anne M. Lyden's catalogue for the exhibition at the Getty Center, entitled *A royal passion: Queen Victoria and photography*, includes a chapter specifically addressing Victoria's royal image.[43] However, yet again there is a surprising lack of comparison. Although some corollary images are mentioned, such as Charles Clifford's photograph of Isabella II, Queen of Spain, the significance of their connections to representations of Victoria are largely left to the reader's imagination.

It is the expansion into comparisons both with her royal predecessors and counterparts, as well as her female contemporaries, that sets this thesis apart, as it places Victoria's image making in the wider context that was so influential in its creation. Without a thorough base of comparison, it is impossible to understand the culture and the pictorial conventions in which Victoria's portraits were immersed. The building of an image, be it that of a middle-class housewife or the queen herself, requires the recognition and cooperation of the beholder. Hence, the artist and sitter must work within socially established norms, exploiting them to 'elicit a predictable and propitious response'.[44] Art historian Michael Baxandall argued that the 'participant understands and knows his culture with an immediacy and spontaneity the observer does not share', and can 'act within the culture's

[43] Anne M. Lyden, '"As we are": exploring the royal we in photographs of Queen Victoria', in Anne M. Lyden (ed.), *A royal passion: Queen Victoria and photography* (Los Angeles, 2014), 129-144.
[44] Kate Retford, *The art of domestic life: family portraiture in eighteenth-century England* (London, 2006), 10.

standards and norms without rational self-consciousness'.[45] Similarly, sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu argued that the comprehension of the viewer is effective only when immersed in the cultural codes that produced the painting.[46] By using comparative images, and consulting contemporary texts, the modern scholar is able to come as close as possible to the viewpoint of those who saw Victoria's portraits at exhibitions, on walls, and in printed form.

While Victoria was depicted by a great number and wide variety of painters, I have narrowed my focus to examine those who represented the queen multiple times and in a variety of poses, which allowed a certain degree of familiarity to arise between portraitist and subject from multiple sittings over time. Additionally, this allows for the same artists to be discussed in multiple chapters, enhancing our understanding of their approach to representing the Queen's domesticity and majesty, and lends continuity to the study. According to the thorough list by Richard Ormond, out of the dozens of artists who created portraits of Queen Victoria, only eleven of them portrayed her three times or more between her accession and widowhood.[47]

Of these eleven, William Charles Ross and William John Newton portrayed the queen in bust-length miniatures, a sub-genre that will not be discussed in this thesis. As Matthew Noble, John Francis and John Gibson, sculpted their various portraits of the Queen in marble, their work will be examined in chapter six. Both David Wilkie and George Hayter had been associated with the royal courts through the patronage of Victoria's cousin, Princess Charlotte, and her uncles, George IV and William IV, and while Victoria commissioned works from them in the early years of her reign, she came to dislike the results and to prefer the works of artists who had come to the court under her aegis. Therefore, their works will be touched on, but will not be used as the basis for detailed comparison. John Partridge, while otherwise a suitable candidate, did not portray a sufficient number of Victoria's ladies to provide a

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[45] Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of intention: on the historical explanation of pictures* (London, 1985), 109.
[46] Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature* (Cambridge, 1993), 215.
[47] Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits*, 474-493.

useful basis for comparison, nor did he paint portraits of Victoria that could be examined in other chapters.

The three remaining artists are animal painter and portraitist Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), Scottish portraitist and President of the Royal Academy Sir Francis Grant (1803-1878), and the German portrait painter Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805-1873), and their work forms a focal point of this thesis. Although Landseer's first piece for Victoria predates her queenship (a portrait of her spaniel Dash was commissioned by the Duchess of Kent and given to Princess Victoria in 1836), not one of these men carried out any commissioned portraits of her predecessors. Thus, unlike Hayter or Wilkie, these artists could be said to belong to Victoria's reign. In addition to painting the Queen, they also painted portraits of members of the aristocracy and the gentry, including women who were part of Victoria's court and wider circle.

A detailed analysis of the artworks included in this thesis requires thorough description, and a methodical comparison between them, which will aid in the identification of the pictorial conventions and cultural markers that have informed each portrait. These are visible in such elements as clothing and jewellery, the accoutrements depicted, the colour scheme and the composition. These details are then compared to those in other portraits of women and of monarchs, to explore the subtle similarities and differences that work to form the overall impression of the image, and form ties that are likely to have been understood immediately by those who were immersed in the culture from which these details drew meaning.

I undertake two forms of comparison, which I call 'vertical' and 'horizontal'. The vertical comparison places Victoria in the line of British monarchs, receiving a legacy from her predecessors that she would alter during her lifetime and then pass on to her successors. This is a historical view, and one that overlooks the social context that surrounded the Queen, and that gave so much meaning to her images. Victoria's pictorial imagery has often been discussed in this manner, placing her in comparison to her royal forebears. Susan P. Casteras has compared Victoria's image-making process to that of Elizabeth I, arguing that they were both conscious of the power of their image, and used it to reaffirm 'the primacy of the monarchy as an integral part of

British national identity'.[48] Jennifer Scott has juxtaposed Victoria's portraits with those of Charles I and his family, while Andrew Wilton and Oliver Millar are among the scholars who have related her portrayals to those of Queen Charlotte and George III.[49] While useful, such approaches necessarily limit our understanding of Victoria's representations, as it removes them from the wider context of aristocratic female portraiture. Considering the duality of her portraiture, and the effects of the domestic ideology on the ideals of womanhood and its representation, these portraits must be placed in a broader context.[50]

A fuller understanding of the conventions that shaped aspects of her portraits and of the discourses that influenced the construction of her image can be gained by pursuing horizontal comparisons. This is achieved at two levels: the comparison of Victoria to her continental counterparts, and to British women who were her contemporaries. In the first instance, monarchs with whom Victoria exchanged portraits, such as the Emperor and Empress of France, and the Queen of Spain, are especially rich sources of comparison for the ways in which a monarch, specifically one who was navigating the turbulent waters of mid-nineteenth century politics, projected his or her image, and how that was received in their own countries. In the second sense, it allows for the comparison of the Queen to other women.

The portraits of Victoria's female contemporaries provide useful comparisons not only because they were painted by some of the same artists as the Queen, but because of their high rank and situation, which placed them close to her, and in a position that made demands on their public and private selves, not unlike Victoria's own situation. However, they were not monarchs, and therefore embodied only half of the equation that is relevant to Victoria's portraits. As women of wealth, who, for the most part, subscribed to the same set of bourgeois values as the Queen, this group had more in common with

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[48] Casteras. 'The wise child', 183.
[49] Andrew Wilton, *The swagger portrait: grand manner portraiture in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John 1630-1930* (London, 1992); Oliver Millar, *The Victorian pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1992); Jennifer Scott, *The royal portrait: image and impact* (London, 2010).
[50] Mark Hallett has recently taken a similar approach in his excellent work on Reynolds's portraits: Mark Hallett, *Reynolds: portraiture in action* (London, 2014).

Victoria than any other in her kingdom. Thus, the differences between the Queen's portraits and those of her ladies enable us to see more clearly how Victoria's unique situation was portrayed.

In narrowing the field of those who would be used as comparisons, I have chosen to examine titled women who were close in age to Victoria and were portrayed by at least one artist who also painted her. I have selected women who were part of the same networks of artists, patrons, and sitters as the Queen, many of whom were in Victoria's court circle, or were connected socially or by family ties. This does not imply a cohesive group with boundaries, but a multiplicity of overlapping connections, a number of which led to artistic commissions.[51] Many of these connections hinged on the Queen, and were formed through the ladies she appointed to positions in her household. In the case of Winterhalter, who was based on the Continent, the comparison is broadened to include foreign royal and noble ladies of a similar rank to the others discussed.

This thesis examines six types of portraits, including a range of genres, subgenres, and media. Each variety of oil painting situates the Queen in a different tradition of representation, such as the resolutely monarchical state portrait and its more malleable cousin, the grand aristocratic portrait, the intensely masculine equestrian portrait, the increasingly informal and sentimental family group, and narrative history painting. These varieties of oil portraiture bring together a wide range of traditions within the same media, and contribute to a more solidly based view of Victoria's pictorial image.

Further adding to the diversity of this approach are the sculptural portraits of the Queen. The three dimensionality of the medium separates it from painting, as does the fact that sculptures were often meant to be experienced in outdoor locations fully accessible to the public. Additionally, there are a number of representational challenges inherent to sculpture, such as the lack of colour and background, as well as the need to ensure that the piece would be able to support itself, but these challenges also meant that the

[51] Miller McPherson et al, ''Birds of a feather: homophily in social networks', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27 (2001), 415-444.

opportunities for variation and creation left to the artist received closer attention and are potent signifiers.[52]

Early photography shared many traditions with oil portraits, both those that were large in scale and with miniatures, but its immediacy and perceived honesty created a distinctive finished product. Additionally, the relative affordability of photographs made them accessible to those who could not have commissioned oil paintings of themselves or their loved ones, considerably widening their appeal. The middle classes in particular became closely associated with this medium, which transformed their long-discussed connection with Victoria's image to a direct comparison.[53]

While these portraits of the Queen took many forms, each with its own traditions and use, this did not preclude them from being observed together, either through being displayed in the same room, or one being incorporated into another, such as a sculpture appearing in a painting or photograph, or, most commonly, through engraving. Many of the artworks discussed in this thesis were engraved and printed in periodicals such as the *Illustrated London News* (1842-2003)*, Pictorial Times* (1843-48), and *Illustrated Times* (1855-1862), and were also printed individually and in booklets for sale. Thus, in spite of their discrete traditions, technical demands, and methods of display, the various forms of art discussed were intrinsically linked, and each must be examined in concert with the others in order to gain a well-rounded understanding of the Queen's image.

Discussions of Victoria's portrayals tend to be focused on only one, or perhaps two, of these forms of representation, resulting in a narrow

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[52] For discussion of the sculpted portrait, see Cyril Humphries, *British portrait sculpture during the neo-classic period* (London, 1972); Aileen Dawson, *Portrait sculpture: a catalogue of the British Museum collection, c. 1675-1975* (London, 1999); Penelope Curtis, Peter Funnell and Nicola Kalinsky (eds.), *Return to life: a new look at the portrait bust* (London, 2001); Guilhem Scherf, 'Sculpted portraits, 1770-1830: "real presences"' in Rosenthal et al, *Citizens and Kings*, 25-36; and Malcolm Baker, *The marble index: Roubiliac and sculptural portraiture in eighteenth-century Britain* (New Haven, 2014).

[53] For resources on portrait photography, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Likenesses: portrait photography in Europe 1850-1870* (Albuquerque, 1981); Peter Hamilton, *The beautiful and the damned: the creation of identity in nineteenth century photography* (Aldershot, 2001); and Margaret Denny, 'Framing the Victorians: photography, fashion, and identity', in John Potvin (ed.), *The places and spaces of fashion, 1800-2007* (London, 2009), 34-51.

understanding of the Queen's image, and one that ignores both the significant differences and the ties between the separate media. Not only does each type of portrait contribute a distinctive view of Victoria, it must be remembered that the viewing public would have seen the Queen in all of these forms, each of which contributed to their comprehension of her person as a whole.

As the focus of this thesis is the Queen's public image, the miniature portrait does not have a chapter of its own. Although Victoria commissioned many miniatures, they were generally meant for private consumption, and thus appear where appropriate for the purposes of comparison, but are not examined in detail. Similarly left out of this study are political cartoons, advertisements, and other unauthorized images of the Queen. While there is much work still to be done on cartoons, broadsheets, inexpensive woodcuts, and the wide variety of forms in which both the British and foreigners represented Victoria, this thesis investigates the pictures in which the Queen had some level of involvement, and upon which she was able to exert her agency directly. Coins, stamps, and medals are not discussed either, as there are so few opportunities for comparison, particularly with aristocratic women.

The close comparison employed in this thesis is further enriched by the textual sources consulted, including commentary in journal entries and letters written by Victoria and the artists she employed, reviews and advertisements in newspapers and periodicals. Queen Victoria's journals, kept between 1832 and 1901 and published online in 2012,[54] have proven an invaluable resource. This is somewhat qualified by the intense editing carried out by Princess Beatrice after Victoria's death. Fortunately, Lord Esher (1852-1930, first Keeper of the Royal Archives) had arranged for the secret transcription of the volumes dating between 1832 and February 1840. It is through these complete entries that the extent of Beatrice's editing can be seen; she cut out a considerable amount of innocuous content that was apparently deemed too tedious to retain, but that is of great interest to modern historians. Other publications from the period, such as national histories, conduct manuals, sermons, and novels aid in fleshing out the context as well. While visual sources form the basis of this thesis, they were surrounded by documents of various kinds, and these texts must be examined for any attempt at understanding

[54] http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org

these works of art to be considered successful. Furthermore, print media are given significant weight due to their influential role in the lives of the increasingly literate public.

Newspapers in particular played an important part in the formation of ideas about Victoria and the state of the monarchy. Due to the fact that the majority of Queen Victoria's political involvement was conducted through letters and private audiences - what was said in the audiences remains private, and the contents of her letters were not made public until Lord Esher published three edited volumes of her correspondence in 1907[55] - public understanding of Victoria's role was largely based on what was reported in the newspapers. The combination of this printed text with the images that were included in *The Illustrated London News*, the *Pictorial Times*, and *The Illustrated Times*, as well as the engravings hung in and available from print shops, heavily informed the public's understanding of the Queen's role. I have used a range of online collections, including the British Newspaper Archive, in an effort to include as broad a range of newspapers and periodicals as possible, both as to location and to political position.

Chapter one of this thesis explores the increased interest in and changing ideas of queenship as manifested in the surge of paintings featuring female monarchs and consorts that were exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts during Victoria's reign. These artistic interpretations of the combination of femininity and sovereign power would have been viewed by the other artists, as well as critics, journalists, and members of the public who visited the Academy. The summer exhibition of 1853 included a particularly high number of these pictures, and is used as a case study. Contemporary literature and press reports are examined to discover whether the women depicted were known for exerting exceptional power and influence, and whether they were represented as fitting the nineteenth-century mould of 'true womanhood' or for taking on masculine characteristics. The examination of these pictures sheds light on how the concept of female sovereignty was being represented outside of Victoria herself, what expectations for her rule were expressed visually in refigured representations of other female queens, and the effect this had on the creation and reception of her image.

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[55] Benson and Esher (eds.), Queen Victoria, *The letters of Queen Victoria.*

Chapters two through seven address this image more directly by examining various forms of portraiture through which Victoria and the artists she employed negotiated the combination of her differing roles as wife and mother, and as monarch. Chapter two discusses the Queen's individual portraits, and employs horizontal comparison, juxtaposing her pictures with those of a selection of ladies connected to Victoria through social and artistic networks to further explore the concepts of femininity and female sovereignty. Placing Victoria's depictions in the context of aristocratic female portraiture allows for an examination of the ways in which her representation was shaped by the contemporary artistic conventions for portraying femininity, wealth and privileged status. It also highlights the ways in which her portraits stood out as representing not just a woman, but also a sovereign, unique in her position and therefore unlike the women who surrounded her at court.

Chapter three continues the use of horizontal comparison through the discussion of Victoria's equestrian portraits. Traditionally associated with masculinity and kingly authority, these portrayals are particularly interesting in terms of Victoria's gender. These portraits are a rich source of information not only on the official construction of Victoria's image, based on the works that she commissioned, but on the image that her subjects reflected back onto her through commissions by societies and organisations such as the Army and Navy Club, London, and Christ's Hospital, Horsham. The histories of these institutions and their connections with Victoria and the monarchy are explored, as they inform the commissions that resulted in the portraits examined.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the traditional monarchical equestrian portraits, chapter four focuses on the pictures of Queen Victoria and members of her immediate family, which emphasize her role as domesticated wife and mother, while still hinting at her role as head of state. While touching on the best known examples**,** such as Edwin Landseer's 'Windsor Castle in Modern Times' of 1840-3 and Franz Xaver Winterhalter's 'The Royal Family in 1846', this chapter focuses particularly on works by these same artists that have received less scholarly attention. These include Landseer's and Francis Grant's 1842 pictures of the Queen with the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales, and Winterhalter's 1850 portrait of Victoria with the infant Prince Arthur. These pictures are placed in the context of earlier domestic royal

portraits, such as those of the family of George III by Johann Zoffany, and are compared to the contemporary images of aristocratic ladies with their children, including the Duchess of Buccleuch (1811-1895) and the Baroness of Leconfield (d. 1863).

Chapter five examines Victoria's inclusion in larger group portraits, reminiscent of history painting, in which she is portrayed as the main subject of a narrative. These pictures range from Jerry Barrett's 1855 painting 'Queen Victoria's first visit to wounded Crimean soldiers' and Edward Matthew Ward's 'Queen Victoria at the tomb of Napoleon, 24 August 1855', painted in 1860, to the images of her coronation, wedding, and the christenings of her children. They incorporated elements of the familial and of the ceremonial, and allowed the viewer glimpses of her life, or rather the fictionalized version of her private life that was being presented as the unmediated 'truth'. The viewers then acted as witnesses of the queen in action, as part of the narratives of sovereignty and femininity created in her portraits. The group pictures discussed in this chapter also showed the monarchy in an increasingly feminized mode, associated not only with the family, but also with charitable acts and a sentimentality that was ingrained in mid-nineteenth century culture.

Queen Victoria was also the subject of a great number of portrait busts and full-length sculptures as well as outdoor monuments, both on her own and with Prince Albert, which are explored in chapter six. Relatively few female contemporaries of Victoria were portrayed in sculptural form, thus limiting the opportunities for horizontal comparison, but they offer insights into the situations in which women were immortalized in marble and bronze, and the characteristics emphasized through their portraits. The connection of marble and bronze sculpture with the antique opened this medium to a more chronologically versatile representation of the Queen, while also referencing the tradition of the Grand Tour and the vogue for collecting antique sculpture, both in its original form and reproductions.[56] The lack of colour and background and the limited number of accoutrements that could be included required a skilful use of the elements left to the artist to visually articulate the

[56] See, for example, Viccy Coltman, *Classical sculpture and the culture of collecting in Britain since 1760* (Oxford, 2009).

Queen's position. The various ways in which this was accomplished, or attempted, are explored in this chapter.

The themes of femininity and sovereignty examined through horizontal comparison are extended to photography in chapter seven. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were early patrons of the new art form and sat for multiple series of photographs that were collected by the public as *cartes de visite*. Fellow sovereigns Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie did likewise, as did a number of Victoria's ladies. In these images her majesty went without formal recognition, and her famously 'dowdy' looks were paraded before the camera without a flattering mediation. This at once made her more recognizable and distinct, as it did not remake her in the idealized style of many of her painted portraits. Although it was necessary for her to conform to the technical requirements and artistic conventions that informed this new medium, there was room for the cultivation of an image that suited her complicated role. While the gender politics of these images have been examined at length, they have not been placed within the wider context of the other photographs to which they relate and it is again through horizontal comparison that we can come to better understand their full meaning. The thorough examination of each of these types of portraiture, as well as the contexts in which they were created and viewed, results in a clearer understanding of the building of Victoria's pictorial image, shedding light on the balance between the domestic and the sovereign that the young Queen negotiated in the first half of her reign.

Chapter 1

Representations of queenship at the Royal Academy of Arts

Georgianna Ziegler has argued that 'The whole notion of "queenship" – of what a queen should be in her personal character and public persona – was re-defined during the Victorian age.'[1] It is true that British queens were under close scrutiny, resulting in a flood of biographical sketches ranging from short poems for school children to multi-volume works for adults.[2] Their lives were held up as models or warnings, with moral lessons gleaned for the reader's instruction and edification. Queenship was also being explored pictorially, as is evidenced by the sheer numbers of paintings of queens that appeared at the Royal Academy exhibitions between 1837 and 1861.

This raises questions about how queens were represented visually, and what can be gathered from the textual sources regarding their legacies in the nineteenth century. The questions of how these depictions compared to the portraits of Victoria hung alongside them, and how they contributed to the building of her image and to its understanding as a whole, follow. A thorough examination of the individual art works will yield information on the intended portrayal of the subjects, which will be bolstered by the commentary in reviews, and further placed in context by appealing to textual representations of the queens. I will argue that these works provided a framework for the examination of female power, and formed part of the visual world that

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[1] Georgianna Ziegler, 'Re-imagining a Renaissance queen: Catherine of Aragon among the Victorians', in Carole Levin et al (eds.), *High and mighty queens of early modern England, realities and representations* (New York, 2010), 205.
[2] For a few examples, see: J. Robinson, *Sketches in history, or, an attempt to portray the characteristic features of the British sovereigns…* (Nottingham, 1841); *History of the kings & queens of England from the reign of William the conqueror to Victoria the first* (Glasgow, 1845); A. Rossendale, *History of the kings and queens of England in verse; from King Egbert to Queen Victoria* (London, 1846); Rev. A. Boulton, *D. D., An epitome of the reigns of the kings and queens of England from the Norman conquest to the present time…* (Tiverton, 1851); *Reminiscences of the lives and history of the queens of England from the Norman conquest by a lady…* (Paris, 1855); Alfred Crowquill, *Alfred Crowquill's Comic history of the kings and queens of England…* (London, 1860).

surrounded many of Victoria's subjects, contributing to their own conception of her sovereignty and womanhood.

The impact of these portraits was not limited to the patrons who attended the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Arts. Due to developments in printing technology and paper production in the early years of Victoria's reign, these representations of queens could be, and often were, engraved and printed in newspapers and books, as well as hung in print shop windows and galleries. Examples such as these formed part of the sea of images that faced the wandering public each day, contributing to their visual interpretation of the world around them. The works displayed at the Royal Academy were shaped by the cultural milieu in which they were executed, and by the minds and hands of the artists and patrons who were responsible for their creation. These explorations of queenship – in which the characteristics of royal women, both exemplary and transgressive, were identified and differing styles of female power examined – formed counterpoints to the depictions of Victoria displayed alongside them at the Academy's exhibition. For critics and visitors, these representations would have been taken in together, and we may assume that the portrayals of these other queens informed the ways in which Victoria's image was interpreted.

The annual exhibition where these pictures were displayed was one of the primary functions of the Royal Academy of Arts. George III had signed the Instrument of Foundation on 10 December 1768, and it was not long before the Royal Academy became the established institution of high art in Britain.[3] While the Academy held itself financially independent from the government, it relied heavily on the monarch's patronage and the prestige of its royal association, particularly in its early years. This continued during Victoria's reign, and she

[3] Charles Saumarez Smith, *The company of artists: the origins of the Royal Academy of Arts in London* (London, 2012), ch. 2. For further reading on the Royal Academy, see George Dunlop Leslie, *The inner life of the Royal Academy…* (London, 1914); Helen Valentine, *Art in the age of Queen Victoria: treasures from the Royal Academy* (London, 1999); David H. Solkin, *Art on the line: the Royal Academy exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836* (London, 2001); Holger Hoock, *The King's artists: the Royal Academy of Arts and the politics of British culture, 1760-1840* (Oxford, 2003; and Sarah Monks et al, *Living with the Royal Academy: artistic ideals and experiences in England, 1767-1848* (Farnham, 2013).

recorded many visits to the annual exhibitions, which she seems to have thoroughly enjoyed.[4]

Not all were pleased with the Royal Academy, however. In 1853, the *Morning Post* complained that 'its great principles laid down by Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first president, have rarely been spread abroad by precept, and still less illustrated by practice; and, what is worse, pictures painted in direct violation of those principles may be seen in more profusion on the walls of the Royal Academy than in any other exhibition, merely because they bring more shillings to the till'.[5] In his discourses on art, delivered to the Academy between 1769 and 1790, Reynolds laid emphasis on the genre of history painting, which he wished to be the focus of the Academy. However, by the 1850s, it was the lesser genres of landscape and genre painting that filled the exhibitions, much to the dismay of the *Morning Post*.[6]

History painting was not extinct, but, according to Mark Salber Philips, its essence had altered. He wrote that, in the nineteenth century, the genre 'shed its loyalty to the idealizations of the "great style" and – without stopping to change its name – found new challenges in depicting social and political actualities'.[7] David Green and Peter Seddon have further suggested that nineteenth-century history painting 'pitted itself against the abuses of aristocratic privilege and laid claim to all that was vested in the name of the public'.[8] Green and Seddon argued that the myriad individuals who were drawn to the salon to view works of history painting 'took on more and more of a political cast by a willingness to engage in discourse that far exceeded purely aesthetic concerns'.[9]

In addition to the works that qualified as history painting, the number of exhibited pictures with historical settings increased from approximately six per

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[4] See the following journal entries: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 May 1833 (Queen Victoria's handwriting); 18 July 1836 (Queen Victoria's handwriting); 28 April 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts), each retrieved 30 December 2014.
[5] *Morning Post*, 29 August 1853, 'The Royal Academy'.
[6] MaryAnne Stevens, 'The Royal Academy in the age of Queen Victoria', in Helen Valentine (ed.), *Art in the age of Queen Victoria: treasures from the Royal Academy of Arts permanent collection* (London, 1999), 28.
[7] Mark Salber Philips, *On historical distance* (London, 2013), 156.
[8] David Green and Peter Seddon (eds.), *History painting reassessed: the representation of history in contemporary art* (Manchester, 2000), 8.
[9] Green and Seddon, 8.

year in the 1820s to fifteen to twenty per year in the 1860s.[10] Roy Strong attributed this to the 'nostalgia for an Arcadian golden age vision of Merry England in Olden Time' brought on by rapid urbanisation, and the temporal divide caused by the Napoleonic wars.[11] Although perhaps a somewhat simplistic view, it is true that the accession of the young, female Victoria, who acted as a moral exemplar to her subjects, provided a stark contrast to her elderly, male, 'wicked' uncles who had preceded her on the throne.

John Clive has argued that the need to 'reconstruct the past' was felt most by those 'engaged in change and innovation, and therefore in need of a legitimating agent', as opposed to those 'whose social and political position is sufficiently secure for them not to have to be concerned about legitimacy'.[12] While this may explain the use of the past by Chartists and other radicals, it does not account for the repeated, and public, fascination with history of those secure in their wealth and social station. Victoria and Albert's lavish fancy-dress balls,[13] and the famed Eglinton tournament held in 1839,[14] testify to the draw the past held for the upper classes, and of the place it held in their understanding of their own Britishness.[15] Clive, however, did not see these

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[10] Roy Strong, *Painting the past: the Victorian painter and British history* (London, 2004), 47; Billie Melman, *The culture of history: English uses of the past, 1800-1953* (Oxford, 2006); Stefan Berger et al (eds.), *Popularizing national pasts: 1800 to the present* (New York, 2012); and Martha Vandrei, 'A Victorian invention? Thomas Thornycroft's "Boudica Group" and the idea of historical culture in Britain', *The Historical Journal*, 57, 2 (2014), 485-508.
[11] Strong, *Painting the past,* 38.
[12] John Clive, 'The use of the past in Victorian England', *Salmagundi*, 68/69 (1985-1986), 53.
[13] Victoria and Albert's first fancy dress ball, held on 12 May 1842, with a fourteenth-century theme. Queen Victoria appeared as Queen Phillipa, with Albert as Edward III (figure 1). The next was on 6 June 1845, at which all of the guests dressed in the costume of the 1740s, and the last was held on 13 June 1851, with a Restoration theme.
[14] For further discussion of the tournament, see: James Aikman, *An account of the tournament at Eglinton* (Edinburgh, 1839); Ian Anstruther, *The knight and the umbrella* (London, 1963); Barbara Bell, 'The performance of Victorian medievalism' in Lorretta M. Holloway and Jennifer A. Palmgren (eds.), *Beyond Arthurian romances: the reach of Victorian medievalism* (Basingstoke, 2005).
[15] For further reading on this topic, see: Charles Mills, *The history of chivalry or knighthood and its times* (London, 1825); George Payne Rainsford James, *The history of chivalry* (London, 1830); Michèle Cohen, '"Manners" make the man: politeness, chivalry, and the construction of masculinity, 1750-1830), *Journal of British studies*, 44, 2 (2005), 312-329; Michael Alexander, *Medievalism: the middle ages in modern England* (London, 2007).

delvings into history as particularly meaningful, arguing that 'Jousts and portraits, though indicative of an interest in the past, may be said to belong to the category of the merely decorative; romantic fripperies without too much substance or significance'.[16] However, David Lowenthal has suggested that the Victorian elite 'willingly assumed' the burden of the past in reaction to their fear that the ideas of the French Revolution and the consequences of the Industrial Revolution could 'subvert national character and environment'.[17] Visiting the past, and fictionalized versions of it, also allowed the Victorians a safe space to investigate and comment on their own era.[18]

A vast number of histories of England were written during this era, such as Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History of England*. Published in 1848, it was written in a newly novelistic style and was wildly successful, rivalling works of fiction. Roy Strong has argued that it was largely due to Macaulay's volumes that the educated people in the mid-nineteenth century were so well versed in British history, and were able to 'read [its] iconography … on the walls of the Royal Academy each year with eyes of comprehension'.[19] The assurance of an audience that understood the national historic mythologies encouraged artists to explore the wealth of subject matter that could be culled from the many histories and historical biographies that were available.

It was not only history writing and painting in general that was increasingly popular; there was also a growing interest specifically in royal women.[20] For example, Anna Jameson's *Memoirs of celebrated female sovereigns*

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[16] Clive, 52.
[17] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country* (Cambridge, 1985), 105.
[18] This topic has provoked continued scholarly discussion. See, for example, Melman, *The culture of history*; Stefan Berger et al (eds.), *Popularizing national pasts*; Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist (eds.), *History, memory and migration: perceptions of the past and the politics of incorporation* (Basingstoke, 2012); and James Coleman, *Remembering the past in nineteenth-century Scotland: commemoration, nationality and memory* (Edinburgh, 2014).
[19] Strong, *Painting the past*, 41-42.
[20] This has been paralleled by a recent interest in royal women, particularly of the medieval and early modern eras. See, for example, The literature on medieval queenship is immense. For some examples, see Glyn Redworth, '"Matters impertinent to women": male and female monarchy under Philip and Mary', *The English Historical Review*, 112, 447 (1997), 597-613; Simon MacLean, 'Queenship, nunneries and royal widowhood in Carolingian Europe', *Past & Present*, 178 (2003), 3-38; Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The rituals and rhetoric of queenship: medieval to early modern* (Dublin,

joined a growing body of biographies of queens written by women when it was published in 1831. Jameson and her fellow authors, such as Mary Hays, Hannah Lawrance, and the Strickland sisters, used the lives of queens to negotiate the prevailing cultural view of womanhood. Their subjects were, for the most part, championed as examples of what woman could, and did, do when given the chance. Mary Hays (1759-1843) published her *Memoirs of Queens* in 1821,[21] and argued that 'female succession and rule demonstrated unequivocally that queens could rule as well or better than their male counterparts'.[22] Hannah Lawrance (1795-1875), a historian and journalist whose rigorous scholarly methods earned her praise,[23] published *Historical memoirs of the queens of England from the commencement of the twelfth century* in 1838. Lawrance focused on the medieval queens, who, she argued, were central to the great progress made in England during that era.[24] News of this publication gave pause to Agnes Strickland (1796-1874), who was working on her own multi-volume biography of queens with her sister Elizabeth (1794-1875) as silent co-author.[25] After some reworking to separate their efforts from Lawrance's, the Stricklands published their volumes in 1838.

These histories were, in fact, already quite different, as the Stricklands' volumes had a high church, Tory bent, and focused on the Tudor and Stuart queens. Their work was described by the *Dublin Evening Mail* as 'uniting the

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2009); Levin, et al (eds.), *High and mighty queens of early modern England*; Lisa Benz St John, *Three medieval queens: queenship and the crown in fourteenth-century England* (New York, 2012); and Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 2013). Representations of queens in the nineteenth century has also proven a fruitful topic: Ziegler, 'Re-imagining a Renaissance queen'; Georgianna Ziegler, 'Suppliant women and monumental maidens: Shakespeare's heroines in the Boydell Gallery', in Walter Pape and Frederick Burwick (eds.), *The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery* (Bottrop, 1996), 89-102. Georgianna Ziegler, 'Women and Shakespeare' in Gail Marshall (ed.), *Shakespeare in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 2012), 205-228.

[21] Mary Hays, *Female biography, or, memoirs of illustrious and celebrated women of all ages and* countries (London, 1802); and Mary Hays, *Memoirs of Queens, illustrious and celebrated* (London, 1821).

[22] Gina Luria Walker, *Mary Hays (1759-1843): the growth of a woman's mind* (Aldershot, 2006), 232.

[23] Benjamin Dabby, 'Hannah Lawrance and the claims of women's history in nineteenth-century England', *The Historical Journal*, 53, 3, (2010), 712-3.

[24] Hannah Lawrance, *Historical memoirs of the queens of England, from the commencement of the twelfth century* (London, 1838).

[25] For information on their division of labour, see Antonia Fraser (ed.), *Agnes Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England* (London, 2011), 3.

fidelity of history with the fascination of the most engaging romance'.[26] This was a winning combination with the public, as it was reported in 1841 that 'a very large edition has already been exhausted, and a reprint called for, of the commencing portion, before the concluding volumes have been issued from the press'.[27] The initial plan was to publish 'four or five monthly volumes, at the low price of 8s. 6d. each, handsomely bound',[28] although in the end, the schedule had to be pushed back and extra volumes were added.

The *Dublin Evening Mail*'s categorization of the Strickland's works as something between a history and a romance, in spite of their considerable primary source research, points to the issue of the authors' gender. According to Rohan Maitzen, the writings of many early to mid-nineteenth century female historians and authors fell under the less-threatening category of 'memoir', which was 'colourful and lively instead of grave, trifling and intimate yet authoritative, somewhere […] in the no-man's land between politics and romance'.[29] Maitzen argued that the radical aspects of these texts were 'contained by the theoretical model they adopt, which dovetails neatly with a pervasive strain of Victorian gender ideology to create a particular kind of women's history that is both conceptually possible and culturally acceptable for their time'.[30] Rosemary Mitchell has suggested that these authors used traditional means to a subversive end, arguing that '[…] women historians found that a focus on the history of women could produce a critique of the traditional narrative'.[31] Whether this was intentional is difficult to say, and somewhat beside the point here. By writing histories of women, and in particular of royal women, these nineteenth-century authors created a narrative counter to that which had been dominated by men for centuries, and celebrated the anomaly of a woman's rise to power.

Lawrance, Hays, Strickland, and Jameson's discussions of the queens represented in the Royal Academy exhibitions give considerable insight into the

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[26] *Dublin Evening Mail*, 14 August 1854.
[27] *Newcastle Journal*, 9 October 1841.
[28] *Morning Post*, 3 Feburary 1840.
[29] Roham Maitzen, '"This feminine preserve": historical biographies by Victorian women', *Victorian studies*, 38, 3 (1995), 373.
[30] Ibid., 380.
[31] Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the past: English history in text and image 1830-1870* (Oxford, 2000), 142.

perception of these royal women in the mid-nineteenth century. These artworks in turn illustrate the ways in which queenship was being explored and tested, and, I will argue, they provided a context for the interpretation of Victoria's enactment of her royal role. The Royal Academy held twenty-four annual exhibitions between Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837 and her widowhood in 1861. All but three of these exhibitions (1849, 1851, and 1852) included her representation. Each exhibition also featured portrayals of other queens, including contemporaries of Victoria, such as the Empress Eugénie of France; queens from England's past, both consort, such as Henrietta Maria, and regnant, such as Elizabeth I; biblical queens, such as Esther; and queens from literature, such as Gertrude from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. While the women portrayed may have had little in common - they were from a range of backgrounds, came to their positions through different routes, and held varying degrees of power - these differences allowed for a broader exploration of queenship in general, and for a more complex and fruitful series of juxtapositions with Victoria.

Those who attended the Royal Academy's summer exhibitions could purchase unillustrated catalogues for one shilling each.[32] The entries listed the artist's name, title of the work, and occasionally a quotation. While it is possible that some extracts were chosen after the paintings were finished, it is likely that the works and the texts are connected, or at the very least were perceived as being so. Approximately half of the passages submitted were not attributed, and some artists wrote their own verses, labelling them as traditional or assigning them to other authors.[33] Out of the quotations that were reliably cited, Shakespeare and Tennyson were the most common sources.[34] The Royal Academy was especially full of Shakespeare-inspired art in the 1840s and 50s, with as many as twenty subjects taken from his plays annually.[35]

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[32] George Dunlop Leslie, 80.
[33] Richard D. Altick, *Paintings from books: art and literature in Britain, 1760-1900* (Columbus, 1985), 191.
[34] Ibid., 191.
[35] John Christian, 'Shakespeare in Victorian Art', in Jane Martineau, et al., *Shakespeare in Art* (London, 2003), 217.

A brief examination of the cultural context, including the resurgence of Shakespeare's plays on the London stage, will help explain this phenomenon.[36] William Charles Macready (1793-1873) managed the theatre at Covent Garden between 1837 and 1839, and then at Drury Lane between 1841 and 1843. During his tenure at these houses, he attempted to reinstate Shakespeare's 'pure' text, and worked to increase the historical accuracy of the sets and costumes. He also instituted measures such as the removal of prostitutes to make the theatre a safe environment for the middle classes to frequent, thus increasing his audience.[37]

Macready's rival Charles Kean (1811-1868) managed the Princess's Theatre in London from 1850 to 1859. Kean introduced the 'long run', with his production of *Henry VIII* in the 1854-5 season running for one hundred performances.[38] This play also provided a forum for his interpretation of the presentation of history. 'In an almost literal translation of Ranke's immortal adage, Kean confirmed that his production re-enacted Wolsey's banquet in York Palace 'as it actually occurred'.[39] The spectacle of these productions and their emphasis on the visual, with historical accuracy being so highly prized, provided ample fodder for the artists who attended the productions.

The Shakespeare-inspired paintings at the Royal Academy were also heavily influenced by the paintings and engravings that had been produced for Boydell's Shakespeare gallery. John and Josiah Boydell opened their gallery in 1789 with the intention of encouraging the genre of history painting in Britain, which they viewed as less accomplished than its continental counterparts. Artists were commissioned to paint scenes from Shakespeare's plays, which were then displayed in the gallery and reproduced as engraved prints. The larger prints were published in an imperial folio album, while the smaller were inserted into George Steeven's edition of Shakespeare's works. Financially

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[36] For a reference guide to publications and performances of Shakespeare's works during the nineteenth century, see Marshall, 348-445.
[37] Richard W. Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian stage: performing history in the theatre of Charles Kean* (Cambridge, 1998), 3.
[38] Ibid., 29.
[39] Ibid., 53.

successful for a time, the project ended in bankruptcy and the gallery closed in 1805.[40]

Georgianna Zeigler has examined the representation of Shakespeare's heroines in the Boydell Gallery, noting that '[t]he feisty women of the history plays are frequently shown in positions of supplication, cajoling, or domestication, as decidedly non-threatening to the men around them'.[41] She attributed this to the assumption, voiced by an anonymous critic, that women's concerns were based in the domestic, and that they were far removed from the turbulent, passionate world. As Ziegler pointed out, the difficulty with this approach was that Shakespeare's historical heroines were, for the most part, not 'far removed', but directly involved in the plots and in the world around them, working in both the public and the private spheres.[42]

Following the lead of the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery in 'domesticating' these female characters was Charles Heath, who published his *Shakespeare gallery containing the principal female characters* in 1837 and *The heroines of Shakespeare* in 1848. The images were in the same hyper-feminine style as *Heath's book of beauty*, published annually between 1833 and 1849, which portrayed aristocratic women. Large eyed, delicate featured, infantilized and sexualized at the same time, these pictures projected a view of womanhood as physically inferior to maleness, less capable of rationality, and whose greatest accomplishments were the bearing and rearing of children. Nineteenth-century authors, such as Jameson, also used Shakespeare's heroines to reinforce contemporary gender ideals and ideas about morality. Jameson's friend, the actress Fanny Kemble, suggested that she entitle her book *Characters of Shakespeare's women* as being shorter and more to the point, but Jameson chose *Characteristics of women, moral, poetical, and historical* to stress the

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[40] Pape and Burwick, 9. For more information on the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery, see Winifred H. Friedman, *Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery* (London, 1976); Geoffrey Ashton, 'The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery: before and after', in Peter Cannon-Brooks (ed.), *The painted word: British history painting, 1750-1830* (Woodbridge, 1991); Christopher Rovee, '"Everybody's Shakespeare": representative genres and John Boydell's "Winter's Tale"', *Studies in Romanticism*, 41, 4 (2002), 509-543; and Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the formation of a national aesthetic* (New Haven, 2013).
[41] Ziegler, 'Suppliant women', 100.
[42] Ibid., 100-101.

general applicability of the work and its educational role.[43] Jameson wrote along primarily traditional lines, and her work was well received, going through ten editions before her death in 1860.[44] These representations of royal women, from the published engravings to the pieces exhibited at Royal Academy exhibitions, were a way for artists and their audiences to process female power in terms of the contemporary cultural context, and would have been present in the minds of those who viewed portraits of Queen Victoria.

Unsurprisingly, the first Royal Academy exhibition of Victoria's reign included a record number of portraits of the new queen: eleven in total. The numbers remained relatively high through 1843, after which there were on average two per year. The representations of other queens generally ranged between three and seven, spiking to ten or more in 1842, 1848, 1850, and 1853. Sampling every five years from 1813 to 1838, the twenty-five years leading up to Victoria's reign, reveals what a change this was from past trends. The 1813 exhibition included a portrait of Princess Caroline, and in 1818 there were two of Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales, who had died after childbirth in November 1817. A portrait of the late princess was displayed in 1823 as well, and the 1828 exhibition included an image of Princess Charlotte, Dowager Queen of Württemberg. It was in 1833, the year after Victoria's first Royal Progress,[45] that historical and literary queens appeared en masse with representations of Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Princess Elizabeth, Henrietta Maria, Queen Margaret (consort of Edward I), Cleopatra, and the Queen from Shakespeare's Cymbeline. The next thirty years would see a similar assemblage of royal women at each of the Royal Academy exhibitions, alongside portraits of Victoria.

Tracing the majority of these pictures has proved difficult, as many entered private collections after the exhibition. While the titles and sources listed in the catalogue give an overall picture of the submissions, without

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[43] Clara Thomas, *Love and work enough: the life of Anna Jameson* (London, 1967), 57-58.
[44] Thomas, 72.
[45] David Duff, *Victoria travels: journeys of Queen Victoria between 1830 and 1900, with extracts from her journal* (London, 1970), chapter 1. Victoria took a tour from August to November 1832, visiting Wales and making a number of stops along the way. The Duchess of Kent famously gave Victoria her first journal before their departure, beginning a habit of personal writing that she would maintain throughout her life.

images and further information such as medium and dimensions, it is impossible to know quite how each work of art would have interacted visually with the other pictures on display. Not only would the hang affect how visitors linked one image with another, if a small painting were hung between much larger ones, or a dark scene placed next to one full of colour, it was less likely to be noticed.[46] Newspaper reviews and other accounts of the exhibition help, but are no replacement for a visual image and a thorough understanding of the materiality of the object. Since I have been able to locate the majority of the queenly submissions in 1853, it will be used as a case study.

The annual exhibitions were well attended, and 1853 was no exception. The critic for the *Illustrated London News* (hereafter *ILN*) complained of 'the scene of crowding and crushing which the principal rooms have usually presented during the greater part of each day since the Exhibition has been opened.'[47] An engraving published in the *ILN* in 1843 (figure 2) shows a large crowd examining the works, and makes it clear how difficult it would have been to see the majority of them. The *ILN* occasionally included engravings of works that had been shown at the exhibition, allowing those who could not visit it in person, or who had visited but whose view had been obstructed, to see images of the pictures discussed. These, and other engravings, were often sold separately as well, further widening the audience. As George Landow has pointed out, oil paintings are produced 'in an edition of one', greatly restricting their reach, especially when compared to literature, which can be produced in editions of thousands.[48] However, public tours, display at the Royal Academy and in museums, reproduction in periodicals, and the sale of engravings made larger editions, and a wider reach, possible, and the cultivation of a mass audience that included the lower classes feasible.[49]

The paintings were numbered as they were hung, with number one being the painting over the door in the East Room of the Academy, which at the

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[46] John Sunderland and David H. Solkin,' Staging the spectacle', in Solkin, *Art on the line*, 23-37.
[47] *Illustrated London News*, 14 May 1853, Supplement for the Exhibition of the Royal Academy.
[48] George P. Landow, 'There began to be a great talking about the fine arts', in Joseph L. Altholz, *The mind and art of Victorian England* (Minneapolis, 1976), 124.
[49] Landow, 127-134.

time was housed with the National Gallery. The paintings were stacked densely, the most advantageous position for all but the smallest works being on the 'line', which was approximately eight feet from the floor. The centre of the room, on the line, was the most prestigious placement for a painting, and the choicest works were hung there first, the rest being placed around them.[50] John Callcott Horsley's *Lady Jane Grey and Roger Ascham*, designated number 171 (figure 3), was the sole representation of a queen in the East room. While the picture entered private hands before it disappeared from the public eye,[51] it was also shown at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1855, the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857, and the National Exhibition of Works of Art in Leeds in 1868.[52] Furthermore, academician Lumb Stocks engraved it for the *Art Journal* in 1867 (figure 4).[53]

Horsley became an Associate of the Academy in 1855, and a full member in 1864.[54] He lived most of his life in Kensington, and he often stood at the palace gates to catch a glimpse of the young Princess Victoria. Horsley's aunt, Lady Callcott, later recommended their family friend Marianne Skerrett for the position of Victoria's Head Dresser, a post that included many of the duties of a personal secretary. Miss Skerrett handled the correspondence between the Queen and the artists she employed, and her position helped to keep Horsley in the Queen's mind. When his son was born just two days before her daughter Beatrice, he was named Victor Alexander at the Queen's suggestion.[55] With such a personal connection to the Queen, Horsley would surely have been aware of the various elements of Victoria's image, and the efforts that went into creating it.

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[50] George Dunlop Leslie, chapters IX, X; and Solkin, *Art on the line*.
[51] It was sold at Christie's in 1995, going from one private collection to another. Its current whereabouts are unavailable.
[52] Christie's Catalogue, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=260647
[53] Ibid.
[54] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (hereafter DNB), 'John Callcott Horsley': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33998?docPos=4, accessed 14 March 2015.
[55] John Callcott Horsley and Mary Alice Helps (ed.), *Recollections of a Royal Academician* (London, 1903), 129-130. The Queen's full name was Alexandrina Victoria.

In his picture submitted to the 1853 exhibition, Horsley illustrates an encounter detailed by Ascham in his work *The Scholemaster* (1550),[56] and retold by Nicholas Harris Nicolas in his 1825 biography of Lady Jane Grey. It was the latter version that was cited in the exhibition catalogue. Ascham, who was tutor to Princess Elizabeth from 1548 to 1550, found the young Lady Jane Grey reading while her parents, seen in the background of the painting, were out hunting. In Nicolas's version, Ascham enquired as to why she had not joined her parents, to which Jane replied that 'all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato – alas, good folk, they never felt what true pleasure means'. Ascham went on to question her as to how she came to prize learning so highly, and she told him of her unhappy life at home, the only release from which she found in her lessons with her tutor Mr Elmer (John Aylmer).[57]

The pathos of her story, particularly of her violent death, held considerable sway over the nineteenth-century imagination. Out of all the queens represented at the Royal Academy exhibitions in the years covered by this study, only Victoria and Mary, Queen of Scots were portrayed more frequently.[58] In his memoir of her life, Nicolas was full of the highest praise for Jane, stating that it was impossible to find 'a more perfect example of those virtues which adorn the female bosom, and confer dignity upon the most elevated rank, than is exhibited in her writings and conduct'.[59] The reviewer in *The Era* affirmed this sentiment: 'A more touching episode is not to be found in the History of England than the life and death of this young lady'.[60] In her journal, Victoria lamented 'poor Jane Grey's' execution by her own cousin.[61]

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[56] Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster: or plaine and perfite way of teaching children to understand, write, and speake, the Latin tong…* (London, 1570). Ascham began this work in 1562, and it was published posthumously seven years later. It was reprinted in 1571 and 1589, and new editions appeared in 1711, 1743, 1863, and 1870.
[57] Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq., *The literary remains of Lady Jane Grey: with a memoir of her life* (London, 1825), xx, xxi.
[58] Jane Grey's popularity was not limited to England, and Paul Delaroche's famous work *The execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833, National Gallery, London), was displayed at the Salon in Paris in 1834.
[59] Nicolas, i.
[60] *The Era*, 8 May 1853, The Royal Academy'.
[61] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 July 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

In spite of the emphasis this piece puts on Jane's education, which reached a degree unusual for women both in her era and in Victoria's, Horsley depicted her in a neutral room containing the trappings of various female accomplishments, including a musical instrument, a be-ribboned flower basket, and needlework. The reviewer for the *Glasgow Herald*, who viewed the painting at the Manchester Exhibition in 1857, extended this gendered approach to Jane's character, ignoring her scholarly accomplishments and describing her solely as 'meek and modest', fitting the mid-nineteenth century ideals of womanhood.[62]

While it is impossible to say what kind of queen Jane would have been had she successfully contested her right to the throne, her solemn temperament and devotion to learning are portrayed in a positive light. Victoria had been nearly the same age as Jane when she inherited the throne, and she, too, had impressed her counsellors and the public with her mature bearing. After Victoria's first Privy Council meeting, both Greville and Croker mentioned her self-possession, and the Duke of Wellington remarked that 'She not merely filled her chair, she filled the room'.[63] The similarities between Lady Jane Grey, as represented here, and Victoria when she acceded to the throne, make Jane's portrait a particularly powerful vehicle for rumination on the current queen's situation and behaviour.

Queen Victoria was featured in two paintings in the Middle Room: Henry Bryan Ziegler's *The Queen's arrival at Burghley 1844* (number 247), and David Roberts' *The Inauguration by Queen Victoria of the exhibition of all nations* (number 415). While Ziegler's watercolour has proven elusive, it was one of a series that included *The Queen and Prince planting trees at Burghley House* (figure 5), which gives an impression of how Ziegler might have represented the Queen's arrival at Burghley, seat of the Marquess of Exeter. Brownlow Cecil, second Marquess, served as Groom of the Stole to Prince Albert between 1841 and 1846, and Albert acted as godfather to Cecil's daughter Victoria, born in 1843. The royal couple travelled to Burghley for the infant Lady Victoria's christening, which took place on 13 November 1844. Victoria described her

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[62] *Glasgow Herald*, 7 September 1857, 'Original Jottings; Manchester Exhibition'.
[63] Charles Greville et al (eds.) *The Greville memoirs 1814-1860* (London, 1938), iii, 372-3, 395; Louis J. Jennings (ed.), *The Croker papers…* (London, 1884), ii, 359; Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria: a biography* (London, 1903), 50.

arrival, stating 'It was becoming quite dark before we got there, & all the arches, &c were illuminated. Outside the town we were met by the Mayor & corporation, who preceded us through it, to the gates of Burghley, which are quite close to the town'.[64] In spite of the private nature of her business at Burghley, her arrival was treated with the ceremony.

Robinson's picture (figure 6) also showed Victoria in the midst of pomp and pageantry, but on a larger scale. Victoria is difficult to see in spite of her central location and light costume, being such a tiny figure compared to the vastness of the Crystal Palace, which is arguably the main subject of the picture. The painting captured the moment that Prince Albert, Chairman of the Royal Commissioners, read their report to the Queen. The opening of the exhibition on 1 May 1851 was a triumph for the royal couple. Victoria wrote in her journal; 'The glimpse through the iron gates of the Transept, the waving palms & flowers, the myriads of people filling the galleries & seats around, together with the flourish of trumpets, as we entered the building, gave a sensation I shall never forget, & I felt much moved'.[65]

Each of these pictures illustrated a ceremonial aspect of Victoria's reign, but tied to a domestic context. In the first, Victoria was receiving the homage of her subjects while on her way to participate in an intimate event hosted by members of her court; in the second she was performing a work that was closely associated with that of her husband. This blending of public and private was a constant in depictions of Victoria, highlighting the Queen's position as figurehead who reigned, but could not be said to rule.

Hung in the same room were two other women who governed – Blanche of Castile acted as regent between 1226 and 1234, and again from 1248 until her death in 1252, while Isabella of Castile was queen in her own right. Number 320, *Queen Blanche ordering her son, Louis IX, from the presence of his wife* (figure 7), was the work of Alfred Elmore (1815-1881). An Irish-born history and genre painter, Elmore moved to London when he was twelve and began studying at the Royal Academy Schools in 1832. He first exhibited two years

[64] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 November 1844 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[65] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 May 1851 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

later, and became an Associate in 1845. Elmore frequently painted historical and literary subjects, often with a narrative focus.

His contribution to the 1853 exhibition depicts Dowager Queen Blanche in the act of ordering her son Louis IX from the presence of his wife, Margaret of Provence. The incident is taken from the medieval chronicler Jean de Joinville's report of the crusade of St Louis, which was published as part of the *Chronicles of the crusades* in 1848. According to this history, while Queen Blanche kept royal couple apart as often as possible, the king often hid in his wife's apartments and stationed his ushers as lookouts. Joinville recounted in detail one such incident, when the king had gone to comfort the queen, who was suffering after a difficult delivery. He wrote, 'he hid himself behind the queen to avoid being seen; but his mother perceived him, and, taking him by the hand, said, 'come along: you will do no good here,' and put him out of the chamber. Queen Margaret observing this, and that she was to be separated from her husband, cried aloud, 'Alas! will you not allow me to see my lord, neither when I am alive nor dying?' In uttering these words she fainted, and her attendants thought she was dead: the king likewise believed it, and instantly returned to her, and recovered her from her fainting-fit'.[66]

The reviewer for the *Leicester Journal* praised the painting for showing 'with great effect the haughty character of Blanche and the weakness and timidity of Louis', and the *ILN* found this contrast to 'constitute the charm of the picture'. However, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* criticized its overly dramatic nature, stating that 'Queen Blanche looks like Mrs. Yates at the Adelphi in that difficult stage of haughty indignation, when the figure is in a most unnatural manner'.[67] In his second lecture to the students at the Royal Academy Schools, Henry Nelson O'Neil (1817-1880) commented on this tendency in historical painting, arguing that, '[…] it is most essential that the artist should learn to discriminate between a *dramatic* and a purely *theatrical* representation. […] But, in painting, all attempts to strengthen the truth of Nature by exaggeration,

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[66] *Chronicles of the crusades….* (London, 1848), 504

[67] *Leicester Journal*, 6 May 1853, 'The Royal Academy'; *Illustrated London News*, 14 May 1853, 'Supplement for the Exhibition of the Royal Academy'; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, 22 May 1853,* 'Royal Academy Exhibition'. Elizabeth Yates was an actress in Covent Garden and elsewhere between 1815 and 1849.

or to modify its earnestness by over-refinement, can only weaken the impression on the spectator'.[68]

There is an undeniably dramatic element in Elmore's loose interpretation of the incident. Blanche stands tall, facing the other figures and pointing accusingly at her daughter-in-law, while Louis IX crouches in the centre of the painting. His brown, gold, and rust-coloured clothing working to blend into the carved wood panelling, gold cloth on the wall, and red upholstery on the chair and footstool, rendering him insipid. Margaret, rising from the chair behind her, stands out in cream and blue. On the table next to her lie an open illuminated manuscript and a small bunch of white flowers; against the wall behind her is ranged a selection of silver and gold vessels. These items visually refer to her righteousness, purity, and motherhood. The side of the high-backed chair, out of which Margaret has just risen, divides the picture plane and visually shields her from the irate Blanche. Louis, however, is placed directly in front of the dividing line of the chair back, highlighting the conflict of the young king, who holds to his wife but regards his mother. He is torn between two types of women, and two types of queens: Blanche, the regent intent on wielding power, and Margaret the consort, determined to protect her domestic interests.

While Shakespeare did not reproduce this particular scene, Queen Blanche was included in his history play *King John*. Jameson discussed her character, praising Blanche's 'exceeding beauty and blameless reputation', 'her love for her husband', 'strong domestic affections' and 'her feminine gentleness of deportment.' However, she also commented on 'her love of absolute power' and 'her religious bigotry'.[69] Blanche's Catholicism would have been an issue in the staunchly Anglican United Kingdom. Catholics and Protestants had a long history of tension in Britain, and only three years before the exhibition, Pope Pius IX had recreated the Roman Catholic diocesan hierarchy in England, an act

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[68] Henry Nelson O'Neil, 'The second lecture: on portraiture, domestic and historical subjects, and on the causes of the decline of art. 26 February 1866', in *Lectures on painting delivered at the Royal Academy by Henry O'Neil, A.R.A….* (London, 1866), 53.

[69] Anna Jameson, *Characteristics of women*, *moral, poetical, and historical with fifty vignette etchings* (London, 1832). 236-7.

widely referred to as 'the Papal aggression'.[70] Anti-Catholic sentiment prevailed in England, and had not been lessened by the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, which allowed Catholics to sit in Parliament. The bias against Catholics permeated popular culture, finding outlets such as Charles Kingsley's popular novel *Hypatia*, first published serially in Fraser's Magazine between January 1852 and April 1853, before being published in book form.[71] Jameson drew a comparison with another Catholic, Maria Theresa of Austria (1717-1780), but stated that Blanche was of a 'more cold and calculating nature'. Yet, she commented that 'in proportion as she was less amiable as a woman, did she rule more happily for herself and others'.[72]

The idea of women being incapable of ruling without compromising their femininity is echoed in an essay submitted to the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* in 1852. The author quoted Karl Friedrich Burdach's argument that, 'Politics are not above the reach of women. Indeed, there have been many able and excellent queens',[73] and cited Semiramis, Dido, Catherine of Russia, and Elizabeth I as examples. However, she echoed Jameson's comments by further arguing that while these women were fully capable queens, they were not true women. The characteristics required for a successful reign were incompatible with the current cultural ideal of womanhood, and those who excelled, such as Blanche of Castile, were more masculine in their outlook and behaviour than feminine. As Elizabeth I had famously stated in her 1588 speech to the troops at Tilbury, 'I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king'.[74] It was their masculine insides that allowed these women, feminine only on the surface, to act ably in their role as monarch.

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[70] For further information, see the following: John Cumming, *Dr. Cumming's lecture on the Papal Aggression, etc.* (London, 1850); Edward James Herbert Powis, Earl of, *The real causes of the Papal Aggression…* (London, 1850); and John Russell, Earl, *Papal aggression…* (London, 1851).
[71] Queen Victoria read it aloud to Albert in 1860 and 1861, referring to it as 'that most interesting book'. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 27 February 1861 (Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[72] Jameson, *Characteristics of women*, 237.
[73] Annie C., 77.
[74] Strickland, *Lives of the queens of England, from the Norman conquest [to the death of Queen Anne]… vii* (London, 1844), 108.

Elmore's picture, with the feminine Margaret acting as a foil to the powerful and masculinized Blanche, highlighted the dilemma faced by a female ruler and her ministers of choosing the characteristics that would be associated with her reign. Blanche of Castile was, however, portrayed in a negative light, placing the viewer's sympathy with Margaret. In Victoria's situation it was not so much a case of choosing one style of femaleness over the other, but a challenge of blending the two in one person. She needed to come across as powerful enough to dominate her foreign husband politically and, in theory, to separate herself sufficiently from party politics while wielding her monarchical influence, at the same time adhering to the cultural ideals and tenets of middle-class morality.

Another woman who faced this challenge was Isabella of Castile (1451-1504). James Clarke Hook's painting *Queen Isabella of Castile, with her daughters, visited many of the nunneries, taking her needle with her and endeavouring by her conversation and example to withdraw the inmates from the low and frivolous pleasures to which they were addicted* (figure 8; number 362), emphasized the monarch's responsibility as moral guide to her subjects, a role analogous to that of the mother who watches over the moral welfare of her family. Hook (1819-1907), who was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1850, established himself as a history painter before discovering his aptitude for landscapes. George Dunlop Leslie noted that, despite Hook's religiosity, 'he had a distinct prejudice against the clergy of the Church of England'. This prejudice extended to his service on the selection committee, where Leslie remembered that 'even a little picture of a chorister boy once acted on him as a red rag acts on a bull'.[75] It is no surprise, then, given the state of Anglican and Catholic relations in Britain in the early 1850s,[76] that Hook chose the subject of Queen Isabella's efforts to reform the corruption within the Catholic Church for his submission to the 1853 exhibition. Hook's source was listed as Prescott's

[75] George Dunlop Leslie, 105.
[76] James P. Flint, *Great Britain and the Holy See: the diplomatic relations question, 1846-1852* (Washington, D. C., 2003); Eleanor McNees, '"Punch" and the Pope: three decades of anti-Catholic caricature', *Victorian periodicals review*, 37, 1 (2004), 18-45; Michael Wheeler, *The old enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-century English culture* (Cambridge, 2006); and P. L. Wickins, *Victorian Protestantism and Bloody Mary: the legacy of religious persecution in Tudor England* (Bury St Edmunds, 2012).

history of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, in which he described Isabella's visits to various convents and her efforts to teach the nuns useful habits and skills, such as needlework, that would replace the immoral habits they had adopted.[77]

Hook's painting, however, was about more than anti-Catholicism. The reviewer from *The Era* linked the scene more specifically to the Oxford Movement, commonly referred to as 'Puseyism' after Edward Bouverie Pusey, one of its leaders.[78] He wrote, 'We should advise some of our Puseyite friends who wish to revive the institutions of the dear old Church of Rome to take a look at [Hook's picture]. It is nothing more than history has told us a hundred times, namely, that "the nuns are addicted to low and frivolous pleasures".'[79] The supporters of the Oxford Movement sought to restore traditions and doctrines that had been lost from the Anglican Church, including the revival of the religious life. *The Era*'s reviewer was not the only one to take issue with these developments. In 1845, Victoria expressed her concern about the movement and the general reaction to it, stating that 'the alarm created by the Puseyites is very great […]. Everything must be done to remedy this danger'.[80]

Hook's representation of the dissolute nuns, then, bore direct ties to the revival of the religious orders within the Church of England, and these connections would have been clear to many who attended the exhibition. Like Victoria, Isabella was also a queen regnant, having inherited the throne of Castile upon her brother's death in 1474. She was crowned before her husband, who was in Aragon at the time, had heard the news. According to Prescott, Ferdinand was 'much dissatisfied with an arrangement which vested the

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[77] William H. Prescott, *History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic, of Spain*, ii (London, 1851), 107. First published in the United States at the end of 1837, Prescott's history was released in London in 1838 and was already in its seventh edition by 1851.

[78] Edward Bouverie Pusey, *Daniel the prophet…* (Oxford, 1864); and Edward Bouverie Pusey, *Selections from the writings of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (London, 1888). For a sampling of the recent literature, see Nigel Yates, *The Oxford Movement and Anglican ritualism* (Oxford, 2000); C. Brad Faught, *The Oxford movement: a thematic history of the tractarians and their times* (London, 2003); Stewart J. Brown and Peter Nockles (eds.), *The Oxford movement: Europe and the wider world 1830-1930* (Cambridge, 2012); and Rowan Strong and Carol Engelhardt (eds.), *Edward Bouverie Pusey and the Oxford Movement* (London, 2012).

[79] *The Era*, 8 May 1853, 'The Royal Academy'.

[80] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 13 January 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

essential rights of sovereignty in his consort'. Isabella mollified her husband by explaining to him that 'this distribution of power was rather nominal than real; that their interests were indivisible; that his will would be hers'.[81] This would have had particular resonance with Victoria's subjects, many of whom expressed discomfort at her marriage to a foreign prince, who it was feared would become the real power behind the throne. After all, as Judith Richards has argued, Isabella and Ferdinand's arrangement was the pattern used by their granddaughter Mary I in her marriage to Philip II of Spain, and it was reasonable to assume that Victoria would do the same.[82]

Although Jameson did not devote an entire entry to Isabella, her description of Catherine of Aragon includes a discussion of her mother, offering insight into Jameson's perception of Isabella's character and her queenship. She wrote that Catherine 'inherited a tincture of Queen Isabella's haughtiness and obstinacy of temper, but neither her beauty nor her splendid talents'. Speaking of Catherine's education, which Isabella closely supervised, Jameson stated that it 'had implanted in her mind the most austere principles of virtue, [and] the highest ideas of female decorum […].'[83]

Prescott emphasized the maternal nature of Isabella's relations with her subjects, describing her as 'solicitous for every thing that concerned the welfare of her people', laying stress on her repeated visits to the soldier's camps, where she was known to donate clothes and money in times of hardship.[84] He also dwelt on her reputed wisdom and virtue, stating that her empire 'was far more extended than any station however exalted, or any authority however despotic, can confer; for it was over the hearts of her people'.[85] Victoria's own generosity toward her troops was noted, particularly during the Crimean War. On 7 March 1855, the *Essex Standard* recounted Victoria and Albert's visit to the wounded at the military hospital in Chatham, and their donation of £300 to the destitute.[86] Furthermore, Victoria was lauded in the contemporary press as one

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[81] Prescott, 191-2.
[82] Judith M. Richards, 'Mary Tudor: Renaissance queen of England', in Levin et al, *'High and mighty* queens', 35.
[83] Jameson, *Characteristics of* women, 261.
[84] Prescott, 387.
[85] Prescott, 453.
[86] *Essex Standard*, 7 March 1855.

who 'lives in the hearts of her people'.[87] These words, applied to Isabella by Prescott and to Victoria by the *Dundee Courier*, underscored the bonds of affection between a queen and her subjects that were achieved through moral purity and exemplary conduct rather than political power.

In the painting, Isabella is in the centre of the composition, with her daughters and some nuns seated around her. A further grouping of nuns stands in the distance, still involved in their trivial pursuits. Queen Isabella is shown as the moral shepherdess of her subjects and as the reformer of religious corruption. She is using her influence to enact change, and does so while virtuously exercising the feminine accomplishment of needlework. In his work, Elmore illustrated some of the perceived dangers of queenship, emphasized by the presence of the timid and ineffectual Louis, while Hook highlighted the queen's moral duties in reforming and guiding her subjects.

Forming a counterpoint to the representation of queenship in action were two works in the West Room that illustrated episodes in the lives of queens who had lost their powers, either to manipulate or to shepherd: the Empress Josephine and Catherine of Aragon, both of whom had been removed from their position as consort. At the time of the 1853 exhibition divorce required a private act of Parliament, and it was not until the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 that a court was established specifically for civil divorces.[88] While Sybil Wolfram has argued that, pre-1857, 'divorce was by no means such a prerogative of the aristocracy as it was alleged to be',[89] it was not easy to obtain, even for a monarch.

The representations of Catherine and Josephine may have reminded viewers of Britain's most recent disastrous royal marriage – that of George IV and his German cousin Caroline of Brunswick. Married in 1795, the couple managed to have one child, Princess Charlotte, but their mutual dislike was as intense as it was immediate. They spent the majority of their marriage

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[87] *Dundee Courier*, 10 February 1858.
[88] Sybil Wolfram, Divorce in England 1700-1857, *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 5, 2 (1985), 158. See also Roderick Phillips, *Untying the knot: a short history of divorce* (Cambridge, 1991); M. D. A. Freedman, 'Marriage and divorce in England', *Family law quarterly*, 29, 3 (1995), 549-566; and Kelly Hager, *Dickens and the rise of divorce: the failed marriage plot and the novel tradition* (Farnham, 2010).
[89] Wolfram, 162.

separated, and in 1820 George IV introduced the Bill of Pains and Penalties, attempting to have the marriage dissolved, thereby depriving Caroline of the title of queen consort. Although the bill passed by a narrow margin in the House of Lords, it was withdrawn before it could reach the House of Commons. This was due in large part to public sympathy being largely on Caroline's side - marches were organized, petitions were signed, and riots broke out around the country. However, when she tried to enter George IV's coronation the next year, she found the doors barred against her. Although Victoria's marriage to her own German cousin was on a much stronger, and happier, footing, the dissolution of a royal marriage presented a potent image, and one to which Victoria herself provided a vivid contrast.

Given the examples of Henry VIII and George IV's marriages, it is interesting that Edward Matthew Ward chose the dissolution of Josephine and Napoleon's for his submission to the 1853 exhibition: number 512, *Joséphine signing the act of her divorce* (figure 9). Ward (1816-1879), a historical genre painter born in London, entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1834. Francis Chantrey and David Wilkie, each of whom portrayed Queen Victoria, were highly influential in Ward's early artistic development.[90] Ward would eventually be commissioned to immortalize Victoria's 1855 visit to the tomb of Napoleon I and investiture of Napoleon III with the Order of the Garter, both completed in 1860.[91] His 1853 portrayal of the Empress Josephine commemorates the moment in which her marriage was dissolved, and she lost her status as consort.

Josephine took a slightly different path to power than most of the other women in this study, first becoming Napoleon's mistress, then his wife, and eventually rising to the position of Empress after Napoleon was elected Emperor of France in 1804. In spite of the fact that Josephine had two children from her previous marriage, her union with Napoleon was barren. In the interest of securing the succession, Napoleon divorced Josephine on 10 January 1810, and later that year married Marie Louise of Austria, by whom he had one son. This narrative is likely to have brought to mind the situations of England's

[90] DNB, 'Edward Matthew Ward': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28683?docPos=1, accessed 14 March 2015.
[91] These paintings are discussed further in chapter five (200-201).

past rejected queens, particularly Catherine of Aragon who was represented in the same room of the exhibition. Like Catherine, Josephine was unable to provide a male heir to strengthen the dynasty. Unlike Catherine, she agreed to the divorce.

In Ward's portrayal, Josephine sits to the right of centre, wearing a white gown, a tiara, and a thin white veil, which stands out in the predominantly red and shadowy surroundings. Her body leans in to the centre of the painting as she looks toward Napoleon. Her arms curve, further leading the viewer's eye toward him, as he sits on the other side of the table, appearing out of humour. The poignancy of the scene seems to have been an important feature for the reviewers. One commented that '[t]he suppressed sympathy which the incident must needs have awakened in the hearts of all those who assisted in it, is admirably expressed in the various countenances […],'[92] while another complained that it had 'not half the pathos' of Ward's submission in 1852, *The Royal Family of France in the prison of the Temple* (figure 10).[93]

While *Lloyd's Newspaper* referred to it as 'altogether a set scene from a playhouse',[94] bringing to mind the criticisms of Elmore's rendering of Queen Blanche, not all viewed this connection as deplorable. Another reviewer stated that 'the painter desires that Art should be the servant of the drama, and in the plenitude of this despotism, he displays such consummate tact, that Art in her servile functions is not degraded'.[95] Ward's wife Henrietta, herself a painter, believed Ward's early connections with some eminent actors had profoundly influenced Ward, leading him to select history painting as the main genre of his career.[96]

Contemporary historians found plenty of pathos in Josephine's life story. Marie Anne Le Normand referred to her as a 'daughter of sorrow and destiny',

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[92] *London Daily News*, 3 May 1853, 'Fine Arts'.
[93] *The Era*, 8 May 1853, 'The Royal Academy'.
[94] *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 22 May 1853, 'Royal Academy Exhibition'. Many of the visitors who attended the exhibition had probably also patronized London's theatres where queens, Shakespearean and otherwise, often walked the stage. Janice Norwood's listing of performances offers many examples: Marshall, 348-416.
[95] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, quoted in *Art Journal*, 1 February 1855, 'British Artists'.
[96] Henrietta Maria Ada Ward and Isabel G. McAllister (ed.), *Memories of ninety years* (London, 1924), 42.

whose 'bearing was noble, her stature majestic', but who was 'nevertheless kind and compassionate'. Le Normand tempered her praise slightly by noting that she was also 'enamoured of glory'.[97] Phineas Camp Headley further declared that 'Josephine, for the times in which she lived, was a model of female character', and that the study of Josephine's qualities would 'so far extend the admiration of the pure and beautiful, in contrast with all the forms of corruption humanity could present in a period of bloody Revolution'.[98] Victoria, who recorded reading Le Normand's biography, was not so moved, simply commenting that the book was 'written in a very affected and flourished style, but is amusing'.[99]

Victoria felt much more sympathy for the story of 'poor Catherine of Arragon', who had been 'ill-used'. Lord Melbourne, however, had little patience for her, calling her 'a sad, groaning, moaning woman', which made Victoria laugh.[100] Henry Nelson O'Neil's '*Catherine's Dream'* (figure 11; number 559) was hung not far from Ward's picture of the Empress.[101] Like Josephine, Catherine was viewed as a devoted wife whose husband had divorced her against her wishes, largely due to her failure to provide a suitable heir. O'Neil (1817-1880), born in Russia to British parents, moved to England at the age of six. He entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1836, where he became friends with Alfred Elmore, whose picture of Queen Blanche, Queen Margaret, and King Louis hung in another room of the exhibition. O'Neil became an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1860. Best known for his companion paintings *Eastward Ho! August 1857* (exh. RA, 1858) and *Home Again, 1858* (exh. RA 1859), he wished for his pictures to make a direct emotional impact.[102]

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[97] Marie Anne Le Normand, Jacob M. Howard (translator), *Historical and secret memoirs of the Empress Josephine…* Philadelphia, 1852), xii, xiii.
[98] Phineas Camp Headley, *The life of the Empress Josephine* (New York, 1856), v-vi.
[99] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 June 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[100] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 July 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[101] O'Neil had already explored the story Catherine of Aragon, when he painted her trial in 1846-1848 (figure 12).
[102] DNB, Henry Nelson O'Neil: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20764?docPos=1, accessed 14 March 2015.

Emotion was not lacking from the scene represented: act four, scene two of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*. Catherine has been speaking with her servant Griffith and, falling asleep, has a vision. Upon waking, she asks Griffith whether he had seen it as well, saying, 'No? Saw you not, even now, a blessed troop Invite me to a banquet; whose bright faces Cast thousand beams upon me, like the sun? They promised me eternal happiness; And brought me garlands, Griffith, which I feel I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall, assuredly'. Jameson argued that it was through the character of Catherine that Shakespeare 'has bequeathed us a precious moral lesson […] that […] virtue is a sufficient source of the deepest pathos and power without any mixture of foreign or external ornament'.[103] While Jameson's overall evaluation of Catherine of Aragon wasn't overwhelmingly complimentary, she stated that, 'her understanding was strong, and her judgement clear. The natural turn of her mind was simple, serious, and domestic, and all the impulses of her heart kindly and benevolent'.[104]

Mary Hays dwelt further on Catherine's pitiful situation, referring to her 'firm' temper and just claims, stating that 'imputations alleged against her marriage filled her with horror and indignation, and to the feelings of a wife those of a mother were added'.[105] Strickland also spoke highly of her, declaring that '[t]he grand abilities of Katharine of Arragon (sic), her unstained integrity of word and action, united with intrepid firmness, commanded even from her enemies that deep respect, which her sweetness, benevolence, and other saintly virtues would not have obtained, unsupported by these high queenly qualities. Sustained by her own innate grandeur of soul, her piety, and lofty rectitude, she passed through all her bitter trials, without calumny succeeding in fixing a spot on her name'.[106]

The scene portrayed by O'Neil (figure 11) illustrates the moment in which Catherine is promised a reward for her piety and 'lofty rectitude'. Catherine reclines on an armchair and, in her sleep, raises her hands toward a group of angels. Few reviewers mentioned this painting in their coverage of the exhibition, and those who did were ambivalent. The *Morning Chronicle* stated

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[103] Jameson, *Characteristics of women*, 273-4.
[104] Ibid., 261.
[105] Hays, *Memoirs of queens*, 135.
[106] Strickland, *Lives of the queens of England… vol. iv*, 155.

that it was 'a picture of great merit, but the execution is rather too hard, and the beauty of the countenance of Katherine is much injured by its livid colour'.[107] While neither Josephine nor Catherine retained the power of feminine influence over their royal spouse, and each had lost the chance to act out her royal role, both women were shown as loving, if rejected, wives whose queenly characteristics were undiminished by the loss of their official position. These qualities were lauded, both in textual and pictorial representations.

In the next room was Henry Pierce Bone's enamel of *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, after Sebastian Bourdon (figure 13, number 648). While I have been unable to trace Bone's image, the source painting can be examined for information on the engraving that was shown at the Academy. Henry Pierce Bone (1779-1855) was a London-born miniature and enamel painter. He entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1796, but never became an Associate. He did, however, become enamel painter to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, following in the footsteps of his father, Henry Bone, who had filled that post for George III, George IV, and William IV.[108]

Queen Christina of Sweden is a particularly interesting choice considering her reputation. Christina became queen in 1632 at six years of age, was officially crowned in 1650, and abdicated in 1654. Remembered for her intelligence, strong will, and gender ambiguity, she was highly cultured and educated, and did not fit the ideal of womanhood that prevailed in the nineteenth century. Anna Jameson included Christina in her *Memoirs of celebrated female sovereigns*, naming her 'one of the most remarkable women who ever existed'.[109] This commendation was qualified by her lament that 'Unsustained by moral dignity, unenlightened by true religion, unwarmed by any generous principle or tender affection, - her mind resembled a chaos […]', noting that at the end of her life 'she sank into the grave uncrowned, unhonoured, and unlamented'.[110]

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[107] *Morning Chronicle*, 9 June 1853, 'Exhibition of the Royal Academy'.
[108] DNB, Henry Pierce Bone: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2837?docPos=1; and Henry Bone: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2836/2836?back=,2837, both accessed 14 March 2015.
[109] Anna Jameson, *Memoirs of celebrated female sovereigns,* ii (London, 1831), 2.
[110] Ibid., 115, 2.

Jameson's comment on 'true religion' was a reference to Christina's conversion from Lutheranism to Catholicism in 1654.[111] Lutheranism was the state religion of Sweden, with Christina at the head of the church, just as Anglicanism was the state religion of England, with Victoria at its head. The example of a female sovereign over a Protestant nation converting to Catholicism posed a particular danger, especially considering recent developments, including Catholic Emancipation. While Victoria's allegiance to the Church of England never wavered, those who objected to her marriage to the German Prince Albert often accused him of being Catholic, and thereby posing a threat to the Queen and the nation.[112]

A larger issue for Jameson was Christina's supposed lack of feminine qualities. She wrote that Christina had 'forfeited all claim to the deference due to her as a woman, without having the strength, either of mind or body, which gives the dominion to man'.[113] Having been surrounded by men from a young age, the Swedish Queen had been bereft of feminine influence. In his biography of Queen Christina, published in 1863, Henry Woodhead used this situation to praise Victoria by contrast, stating that 'Had she lived to our own time, she might have learned from another English Queen how to combine every womanly virtue with a wise and active administration'.[114] Woodhead's praise of Victoria, in whom he believed the feminine and the sovereign were brought together effectively, highlights the expectation that a nineteenth-century queen must not, and did not need to, relinquish her femininity.

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[111] Her decision was not made public until the next year.

[112] The author of an article in *The church magazine* reported that '[…] some will have it, that, if he is not in reality a papist, he is favourably inclined to the Romish heresy […] if he be not secretly a papist, as he may be, at the same time he may openly profess himself a Protestant, and swear that he is one, because he can easily procure a dispensation for all this from the Pope [….]'. As for the upcoming royal marriage, 'Whether it will be for the welfare of the country, or for its injury, time alone will tell'. *The Church Magazine*, December 1839, 409. Many rebuttals were offered to this type of accusation, including *Prince Albert, his country and kindred* (London, 1840).

[113] Ibid., 16.

[114] Henry Woodhead, *Memoirs of Christina, Queen of Sweden* (London, 1863), 93. See also Susanna Akerman, *Queen Christina and her circle: the transformation of a seventeenth-century philosophical libertine* (Leiden, 1991); Iiro Kajanto, *Christina heroina: mythological and historical exemplification in the Latin panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden* (Helsinki, 1993); and Veronica Buckley, *Christina, Queen of Sweden* (London, 2004).

The portrait of Christina exhibited in 1853 was most likely an engraving of Sébastien Bourdon's painting of the seated queen, although it is possible that the catalogue description referred to Bourdon's equestrian portrait (figure 14).[115] As Christina being on horseback was not specifically mentioned, it is more likely to be the former image. While I have not found Bone's version, it is reasonable to believe it similar to Pierre Alexandre Tardieu's earlier engraving (figure 15). In it, Christina is seated in a plain, but royally red chair; the traditional column and draped curtain relieve the otherwise plain background. The Queen's hair is in the famously unkempt style she usually wore, and not carefully groomed as would have been expected of a lady. Her clothing, a black gown over a full white chemise, is relatively plain, but stands out for being distinctly womanly garb despite Christina's penchant for cross-dressing. A simple, striking image of a monarch, devoid of royal insignia, it has much in common with images of Victoria, and when juxtaposed with them, further highlights the British Queen's adherence to the cultural dictates regarding femininity.

Moving into the Octagon room, the viewer would see Frederick Walmisley's *Interview between Jeanie Deans and Queen Caroline at Richmond* (1267). Very little information is available on Walmisley, and I have been unable to trace an image of the painting.[116] The critics who reviewed the exhibition had little to say about it, other than the *Morning Chronicle*, which found it 'stiff and feeble'.[117] The subject matter was taken from Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Heart of the Midlothian* (1818), which tells of Jeanie Deans' efforts to obtain a pardon for her sister, who had been convicted of infanticide. This painting illustrates the moment of Deans's meeting with Caroline, who

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[115] Painted the year Christina officially converted to Roman Catholicism, the original was commissioned as a gift to Philip IV of Spain, and was hung in the Royal Alcazar of Madrid by 1666. http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/cristina-de-suecia-a-caballo/?no_cache=1, accessed 25 July 2013. According to Veronica Buckley, this portrait was a favorite of Christina's and was hung in her bedroom until her death. Buckley is most likely referring to a copy. Buckley, vii. This portrait was certainly known in nineteenth-century Britain even before it appeared at the exhibition, as Jameson makes a passing reference to it: Jameson, *Memoirs*, 28.

[116] This scene was revisited in 1859 by Charles Robert Leslie, and was exhibited at the Royal Academy that year (figure 16; number 211).

[117] *Morning Chronicle*, 2 May 1859, 'Royal Academy'.

graciously intercedes on behalf of Jeanie's sister. The role of intercessor had long been associated with queens consort, as an outgrowth of the influence they held with their husbands. Victoria had made visual reference to this when she appeared at her 1842 costume ball dressed as Queen Phillipa (figure 1), who had famously persuaded her husband to spare the lives of the Burghers of Calais. Although she held the position of queen regnant, Victoria publicly associated herself with the merciful queen consort, here exemplified by Queen Caroline.

Finally, in the sculpture room were displayed number 1303, Mary Thornycroft's *Marble bust of the Queen*; and numbers 1338 and 1340, William Theed's bas-reliefs of *Mary Queen of Scots, looking back on the coast of France*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh spreading his cloak as a carpet for Queen Elizabeth*. Thornycroft's bust has also proven difficult to locate. Most reviewers did not mention it, although the *ILN* noted that it was 'very admirable'.[118] An undated bronze statue of the Queen with the Prince of Wales (figure 17) gives an idea of how the bust might have appeared. In this statue, the Garter sash proclaims the Queen's sovereignty, although she does not wear a crown or any royal robes. Her gaze is downcast and her expression aloof, yet gentle, which is fitting both for her role as queen, and as mother.

Theed's bas-reliefs were installed in the Prince's Chamber (figure 18), which is the ante-room to the House of Lords Chamber in the Houses of Parliament. William Theed the younger (1804-1891) joined the Royal Academy Schools in 1820, and in 1826 he went to Rome, staying for over twenty years.[119] His series was conceived as an entry to the competition for art based on British history or literature to decorate the new Houses of Parliament. Competitions were held in 1843, 1844, 1845, and 1847, and a number of the entries were also displayed at the Royal Academy's annual exhibitions.[120] William Theed's historical bas-reliefs, which celebrated Tudor monarchs, were among the

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[118] *Illustrated London News*, 7 May 1853.
[119] DNB, William Theed the younger: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27162?docPos=2, accessed 14 March 2015.
[120] Janet McLean, 'Prince Albert and the Fine Arts Commission', in Christine Riding and Jacqueline Riding, *The Houses of Parliament: history art architecture* (London, 2000), 214. This series also included a version of Lady Jane Grey's meeting with Roger Ascham, which bears similarities to Horsley's painting of the incident.

successful entries to the competition, and were also exhibited at the Academy in 1853, 1854, and 1858. These were designed for, and placed in, the Prince's Chamber, the decorative theme for which was the House of Tudor. Above the bas-reliefs were hung images of the Tudor monarchs, their consorts, and family members.[121]

In the first of the two images (figure 19), Mary, Queen of Scots is seated, leaning over the side of the boat, looking longingly at the coast of France. The second image (figure 20), in a deeper relief, illustrates Sir Walter Raleigh's spreading his cloak on the ground as a carpet for Queen Elizabeth, an act of chivalry that resonated with the idealised treatment of middle and upper class females in nineteenth-century England. These scenes of Mary and Elizabeth, created as they were to be placed in the new Houses of Parliament, fitted in with the program of national self-imagery that was being assembled on its walls.[122] As queens, Mary and Elizabeth were especially viable subjects for this endeavour. Rosemary Mitchell has stated, 'The role of women as keepers of the domestic flame had, however, a social dimension which made them the carriers of national, cultural, religious, and moral values'.[123] The queens portrayed alongside Victoria in the 1853 Royal Academy exhibition acted as such, and provided an opening for the artists and patrons to examine the role of a queen in contemporary Britain.

The 1853 exhibition alone saw Victoria in the company of the young and scholarly Lady Jane Grey, a power-hungry Blanche of Castile and feminine Margaret of Provence, a virtuous and reforming Isabella of Castile, a forlorn Josephine and a righteous Catherine of Aragon, a masculine Queen Christina, a merciful Caroline, a lonely Mary, and a respected Elizabeth. These women were used to explore multiple aspects of the preparation, duties, and qualities of a queen, and included examples both to emulate and to avoid.

The increase in representations of female royals at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Art coincided neatly with the beginning of Victoria's public career, and continued throughout the years of this study. While this may have been affected by such influences as the revival of Shakespeare's

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[121] William Vaughan, '"God help the minister who meddles in art": history painting in the new Palace of Westminster', in Riding and Riding, 230-1.
[122] Vaughan, 239.
[123] Rosemary Mitchell, 157.

works on stage and the boom in textual histories of Britain and its monarchs, the fact remains that the idea of queenship, in its many different forms, was being explored visually at this time. At the 1853 exhibition only one queen was portrayed negatively – Blanche of Castile, who is represented as power-hungry and unreasonable. She is shown in particularly unflattering contrast with her daughter-in-law, Margaret of Provence, whose sweetness, purity, and devotion to her husband align her with the feminine ideal of the mid-nineteenth century. The other queens consort - Empress Joséphine, Catherine of Aragon, and Caroline of Ansbach - are similarly represented as exemplary women, whose grace and feeling is only highlighted by the loss of their position in the case of the former two, and the use of feminine influence in the case of the latter. The women who were queen in their own right, such as Lady Jane Grey (albeit only for a few days), Isabella of Castile, Christina of Sweden, Mary Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth I, were not portrayed as rulers, as much as exemplary women whose quiet demeanour, learning, and domestic accomplishments were at the forefront. Even Elizabeth I was shown not in a context that celebrated her power but as the recipient of chivalry.

While these images provide insight into the understanding of female power, they gain further interest by being juxtaposed with portraits of Victoria on the walls of the Academy and in the reviews that were widely published. The visitors to the exhibition, the critics who discussed the works, and all who read the reports would have viewed these works in the context of having another queen on the throne after generations of male rulers. While these representations reflected the ideals of the emerging domestic ideology, they also would have contributed to the expectations of Victoria's enactment of her royal role. The portraits that she commissioned during the first half of her reign worked to create a stable, yet safe image of a woman who embodied the morals of the Anglican bourgeoisie, who was deeply invested in her domestic life, and yet had not relinquished her right to rule to her foreign husband. The paintings of Victoria posing alone, commissioned from her favourite artists, acted as the Queen's representative abroad when sent to foreign embassies and as gifts to her continental counterparts, as well as to her own subjects. As such, they were created with care and often with some level of involvement on Victoria's part,

and are particularly revealing of her own understanding of her role, and of how she wished to be represented.

Chapter 2:
Portraits of Queen Victoria and Her Ladies:
A Comparative Study 1837-1861

Upon her accession to the throne in 1837, Queen Victoria inherited not only a kingdom, but also a monarchical image to uphold and traditions of royal portraiture through which to do so. Her predecessors had left behind a pictorial legacy that included a hyper masculine Henry VIII, an allegorical Elizabeth I, an ornate Charles II, and a relatively relaxed George III. The monarchical aspect, however, was only one of the major influences on Victoria's representation. She was also a woman of her time, who was deeply affected by the prevailing views on womanhood and femininity, and this became increasingly visible as she allied herself with the middle classes in an attempt to stabilize her position on the throne.[1]

Traditionally, the monarch had been built up as a 'remote icon of majesty' through the conventions of formal state portraiture.[2] Marianna Jenkins described the state portrait as being large in scale, composed with a monumentality of effect, and intended for public display. The subject of the painting is 'posed in a ceremonious attitude which seems to spring from a sense of inborn authority', and the features, while clearly recognizable, are idealized. Personal feeling is absent, and the figure is made to seem 'both physically and spiritually a remote and superior being'.[3] Christopher Lloyd added to this, describing the state portrait as combining 'a convincing likeness with an assertion of authority and an indication of dynastic continuity expressed in a visual language accessible to all'.[4] Customarily, the figure is displayed full-length, swathed in the state robes and accompanied by regalia, such as the orb, sceptre, crown, orders, and sword of state. Lloyd also stated that the subject is

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[1] Homans, *Royal representations*, xx-xi.
[2] Ormond, *The face of the monarchy*, 34.
[3] Marianna Jenkins, *The state portrait: its origin and evolution* (New York, 1947), section 1, n. p.
[4] Lloyd, 'Portraits of sovereigns', 60.

usually shown 'in a spacious, timeless setting' that most often included a column, a dramatically draped curtain, and gilded furniture.[5]

The existence of at least six authorized portraits of Victoria that meet these requirements shows that these formal images still had a place.[6] However, the range of portraits depicting the Queen that was disseminated to the public expanded well beyond these images. I will argue that these representations of the Queen leaned toward the traditional portrayal of an aristocratic woman, but were nonetheless imbued with royal power and were elevated in the pictorial playing field. Building on the increased informality seen in Johan Zoffany's 1771 portrait of George III (figure 21), Victoria's femininity and domesticity were brought to the forefront through sheer quantity – her informal portraits outnumbered the state portraits by five to one - and through their wide dissemination.[7]

According to current royal librarian Jane Roberts, 'the innovation of George III's reign was not that he personified the country as Elizabeth I had, but rather that he identified himself with his people and they with him'.[8] George III realised that the formal state and coronation portraits did little to aid in this effort and to 'promote a more popular image of the royal family', although he still commissioned them.[9] However, Johann Zoffany's relatively informal portraits and conversation pieces - group portraits whose figures, usually family members, were linked in a way that suggested 'an atmosphere, favourite amusements, and glimpses of domestic life' - were well suited to the task.[10] Zoffany portrayed the king seated, leaning on one arm of the chair, and his hat and sword are on the table next to him, where the royal regalia would be placed were it a state portrait. The background is plain, lacking the usual column and curtain, and his chair is fairly simple. Mary Webster stated that Zoffany's portraits of George III, his wife, and their children contain an ease that was new,

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[5] Ibid.
[6] These include works by Sir George Hayter (1837, 1840), Thomas Sully (1838), Sir David Wilkie (1840), and Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1843, 1859).
[7] Carrie Rebora Barratt, *Queen Victoria and Thomas Sully* (Princeton, 2000), 15.
[8] Jane Roberts (ed.), *George III & Queen Charlotte: patronage, collecting and court taste* (London, 2004), 21.
[9] Webster, 230.
[10] Ibid., 114.

yet 'the images are nevertheless of royal presence'.[11] This mixture of ease and royal presence would become a hallmark of Victoria's portraiture, the blend shifting according to perceived need. This was largely achieved through adopting elements that had been more common to the nobility and gentry than the monarchy, and using them to create a hybrid image that better served the purposes of a constitutional monarchy overseen by a young woman.

Royal and aristocratic portraiture, which had had much in common since the genre became established in Britain during the days of Holbein, became even more closely enmeshed in the nineteenth century. Although the aristocracy, the main demographic that could afford to have their likenesses taken in the genre's early days, did not need to assert their place in a royal line, the proclamation of lineage was still important, as was the affirmation of their elevated status. Portraits were commissioned to commemorate milestones in the lives of the wealthy, such as the Grand Tour, marriage, or the acquisition of a new title or property. Over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, portraiture became increasingly affordable, and artists were patronised by large portions of the wealthy middle classes.[12] Close examination of the visual sources, including portraits of both past and contemporary royals as well as of the aristocratic women connected to the Queen, places Victoria squarely within both the pictorial legacy in which she operated, and the context in which she lived. It is only through the investigation of both angles that a fuller understanding of her visual image can be reached.

One particularly well-connected member of the social and artistic networks that included the Queen and a number of her ladies was the painter Edwin Landseer.[13] Landseer, whose father was an engraver, was born in 1802 on Queen Street in Marylebone. Landseer first exhibited at the Royal Academy

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[11] Ibid., 237.

[12] See Shearer West, *Portraiture* (Oxford, 2004), chapter 3.

[13] Landseer has been the subject of a handful of biographies, most notably by Richard Ormond and Campbell Lennie, which provide valuable insights into his social connections and the role of portraiture in his oeuvre, which was based in animal painting. For further discussion of Landseer and his works, see Ian Barras Hill, *Landseer: an illustrated life of Sir Edwin Landseer 1802-1873* (Aylesbury, 1973); Campbell Lennie, *Landseer: The Victorian paragon* (London, 1976); Richard Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (London, 1981); and Frederick George Stephens, *Sir Edwin Landseer, RA* (Midhurst, 2005); DNB, 'Edwin Landseer': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15984?docPos=1, accessed 19 December 2014.

in 1815, although only as an honorary exhibitor due to his youth, and he entered the Royal Academy Schools the next year. While he continued to paint animals throughout his career, portraiture came to form a large portion of his commissions. Victoria had been aware of Landseer and his work since at least May 1833, when she first mentioned him in her journal.[14] In December of 1837, Landseer brought a number of pictures to Buckingham Palace to show the Queen, and her response was enthusiastic. She wrote that they were 'all most beautifully painted and grouped; and most exquisitely finished, so that I looked at them through a magnifying glass [….] He certainly is the cleverest artist there is'.[15]

In spite of this boundless praise, it wasn't until her engagement to Prince Albert in 1839 that Landseer produced a completed portrait of Victoria (figure 22).[16] Measuring only 40.6 by 30.5 centimetres, it was not a large public picture but one better suited to individual contemplation, and was intended as a gift to her fiancé. After their marriage, it was hung in Albert's writing room in Windsor Castle. In spite of the private nature of the commission, the painting was engraved and published (figure 23), allowing it to reach a wide audience and contributing to the official image of the young queen.

Victoria, who often based her reaction to a portrait on its resemblance to the subject, called this one 'the likest little sketch in oils of me, that ever was done {…].'[17] The Queen is posed facing to the left, with her shoulders turned slightly away from the viewer. She looks ahead, lost in thought and apparently unaware of her audience. She wears a creamy white gown with a fashionably wide neck, sleeves that are tight at the upper arm and then balloon out, and ample skirts.[18] Victoria was proud of her shoulders, which are clearly on display here, and the thin shadow between the gown and her back adds

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[14] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 May 1833 (Queen Victoria's handwriting). Retrieved 21 October 2014.
[15] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 7 December 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts), original emphasis. Retrieved 8 October 2014.
[16] By the time he died in 1873, Victoria owned thirty-nine oil paintings, sixteen chalk drawings, two frescoes, and many drawings by Landseer. Nadel, 187.
[17] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 August 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 8 October 2014.
[18] For examples of similar gowns and fashion plates, see Lucy Johnston, *Nineteenth-century fashion in detail* (London, 2005), 76, 104, 172 and 192; Joseph Robins, *The ladies' pocket magazine* (London, 1839) and *The ladies cabinet of fashion, music and romance* (London, 1839).

sensuality to the painting, fitting for the occasion of the commission and her relationship with the intended recipient. Her upright posture, neutral expression, contained hairstyle, and her position turning away from the viewer, however, maintain an air of propriety. While still present in the engraving, the sensuous shadow is considerably downplayed.

The slash of deep blue provided by the Garter sash enlivens the simplicity of her gown and is an overt symbol of her role as monarch. She wears no other sign of her royalty, and the only jewellery visible is a simple necklace, most likely the heart-shaped locket that held Prince Albert's hair, which is visible in a number of her portraits. The white and blue of Victoria's ensemble are in reverse proportion to the wispy clouds and blue sky behind her, which deepens in colour near the bottom, possibly hinting at a landscape. The painting is a faux oval, and Victoria's dress fades into the white that surrounds the picture. The lack of fixed horizon, the blue and white colour scheme, and the cutting off of Victoria's figure almost makes it appear as though she is floating in the sky. Combined, these elements suggest a connection with the 'angelic' ideal of the domestic ideology, now best known from Coventry Patmore's poem 'The angel in the house'. Published in instalments between 1854 and 1862, Patmore's poem gave voice to an ideal that had already matured and was well established in British culture, and is visible here.[19] The visual suggestions of purity and docility are particularly interesting, as this was painted in the same year as the Bedchamber crisis and the debacle over Lady Flora Hastings, which brought allegations of undue interfering in politics, and of a worldly and impure court.[20]

Landseer's portrait of Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Campbell, Duchess of Argyll (figure 24), painted around the same time as Victoria's, is strikingly similar.[21] The Duchess was also intimately connected with the royal court, as

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[19] John Malcolm, 'To a lady', 'The wish' in *Scenes of war; and other poems* (Edinburgh, 1828); Robert Montgomery, *Woman, the angel of life: a poem* (London, 1833); Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The women of England, their social duties and domestic habits* (London, 1839), 220; Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the house*, (London, 1854).

[20] John Ashton, *Gossip in the first decade of Victoria's reign* (London, 1903), 81-84.

[21] Although this painting is not listed in the Royal Academy's catalogue of Landseer's works, it has been positively identified. Communication with the Duke of Argyll, in whose collection it resides, has not yielded any firm

her mother was Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland, who served as Queen Victoria's Mistress of the Robes a number of times, a duty Lady Campbell herself would take on from 1868 to 1870. The women had known each other since childhood, and the Duchess's son John, Lord Lorne, married Victoria's daughter Princess Louise in 1871.

In Landseer's portrait, the Duchess is in profile facing left, smiling slightly and turning her gaze toward, but not directly at, the viewer. Like the Queen, Lady Campbell wears a creamy white gown with a wide neckline that displays her shoulders. She does not, of course, wear any royal regalia, and instead her gown is adorned with a pale pink bow on her left sleeve and a corsage at centre front. These flowers coordinate with those that adorn her hair in place of any form of jewellery. Her hair is dressed in another variation of the fashionable style adopted by the Queen, with the front sections parted in the centre and the back braided and pinned up.

Again, like the Queen, Lady Campbell is set against a background of blue sky with clouds floating from shoulder level to the bottom of the image, which is in an oval frame. While this image draws on the same ideas of a young woman in white with no clearly discernable horizon in sight, the turn of the Duchess's face and her expression create an interaction between the subject and the viewer. With so much in common between the two portraits, one point of contrast between them is stark: Lady Campbell appears accessible, Victoria aloof.

Furthermore, Lady Campbell's facial features have been idealized, as becomes evident when viewed in the context of other portraits of her created at around the same time. Landseer's chalk and wash version of the portrait (figure 25) further softens her doll-like beauty, creating an even more idealized image by removing markers of the sitter's personality and presenting more a type of womanhood than a specific individual. Victoria's features, however, remain resolutely distinctive. This was possibly due to her preference for verisimilitude in portraiture, but also was most likely affected by the need for the viewing public to be able to recognize their queen.

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information as to the date, although he believes it to be from the early 1840s (Personal communication with the Duke of Argyll, 18 February 2013). This is supported by the style of her gown and hair.

In spite of this, both the Queen and the Duchess's portraits appear to have been influenced by the aesthetic of the *Court album* and *Heath's book of beauty*, both of which had a distinctive, and intensely idealized, style**.** Priced between ten and twelve shillings on average, they were immensely popular among those who could afford them, and were often given as holiday gifts.[22] The *Court album* combined flattering engravings of the young ladies of high society with biographical sketches of their family lineage, and *Heath's book of beauty* included light fiction. Much of the literature published in ladies' magazines during these decades, ranging from the more elite publications, such as *Heath's book of beauty*, to the more widely accessible *Englishwoman's domestic magazine,* incorporated the ideal of the 'true woman' into their storylines, matching in words what was presented visually in the accompanying engravings.

The rounded cheeks, enlarged eyes, and rosebud mouths imposed on many female subjects of the portraits intended for these volumes, regardless of their natural facial structures, were reminiscent of children's features, emphasizing woman's role as man's weak dependant. The small waists and ample busts commonly seen, again in spite of the subject's natural shape, accentuated the young woman's sexuality, which was made safe by her appearance of childlike innocence. The popular success of these pictures was tied to their visual iteration of the ideal mid-nineteenth century woman. To a lesser extent, these visual cues and references to the feminine ideal are found in many contemporary portraits, including several of Victoria and her ladies.

Lady Frances Elizabeth Cowper, Viscountess Jocelyn (1820-1880), another of Landseer's subjects, was included in the 1839 edition of *Heath's book of beauty* (figure 26).[23] Her portrait, engraved by W. H. Egleton after Alfred Edward Chalon, shows the Viscountess posed much like Victoria and Lady Campbell, facing to the left with her head slightly turned toward the viewer. Her white gown is also similar, cut fashionably wide at the shoulders and with relatively little adornment. Her facial expression is about halfway between the Queen's and the Duchess's, as she looks into the distance but with a slight smile on her lips. Egleton's engraving of Lady Cowper, commissioned specifically for

[22] Plunkett, 79.
[23] The Countess of Blessington (ed.), *Heath's book of beauty, 1839*, (London, 1839).

the context of a ladies' annual, is strikingly similar to Landseer's depictions of Victoria and Lady Campbell, illustrating the interaction between the style employed by publications such as *Heath's book of beauty*, and oil paintings of noble and royal women.

Landseer's portrait of Viscountess Jocelyn (figure 27) fits this mould less directly although it still bore its traces. Lady Cowper held the position of a Lady of the Bedchamber from 1841 to 1867. In addition, she had served as a trainbearer at Victoria's coronation in 1838 and as a bridesmaid at the Queen's wedding in 1840. As in the other portraits, Lady Cowper is again portrayed with her head turned slightly to the left. Measuring only 43 by 30.5 centimetres, roughly the same size as his portrait of Victoria, it too is a relatively small and intimate image and was hung in the private quarters of Melbourne Hall, home of the Cowper family. She wears a dark gown that comes up over her shoulders with a hastily sketched lace edging along the neckline. Her pale skin stands out against her gown, the shadowy curtains in the background, and her black lace headdress. She gazes ahead calmly, as though lost in thought, presenting a more serious persona than in the Egleton engraving, although her features are similarly idealized. By locating the Viscountess in an enclosed room that seems to include the viewer, Landseer makes her accessible in spite of her distancing expression and apparent lack of awareness of any company. Both Lady Campbell and Lady Cowper, then, are portrayed similarly to the Queen, although Victoria is further removed from the viewer, both literally and metaphorically, than either of her ladies.

The interplay between royal traditions and those of the aristocracy and gentry is further visible in the works of Landseer's close friend Sir Francis Grant.[24] Grant came to his artistic career relatively late, but his talent, privileged background, and extensive social connections combined to bring him considerable success.[25] Born in Edinburgh on 18 January 1803, Grant was one

[24] When Landseer was chosen to succeed Sir Charles Lock Eastlake as president of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1866, a position he felt that he could not fill due to his deteriorating health, he recommended Grant to take his place.
[25] Grant's reputation has suffered since his death, and he has been the subject of only one published book to date: the catalogue for an exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Catherine Wills, *High society: the life and art of Sir Francis Grant 1803-1878* (Edinburgh, 2003). He was also the subject of Wills'

of seven children of Francis Grant, laird of Kilgraston, Perthshire. He was educated at Harrow from 1814 to 1816 and the Royal High School of Edinburgh from 1817 to 1818, at which time he inherited approximately £10,000 on the death of his father. However, Grant's passions for art collecting and hunting soon burned through his resources and he was obliged to earn a living. Victoria bluntly noted in her journal that he was a good-looking gentleman who had 'spent all his fortune, and now paints for money.'[26]

Sir Walter Scott, the subject of his first commission, believed that Grant's upbringing had given him a decided advantage, namely 'a sense of beauty derived from the best source, that of really good society'.[27] It is highly likely that Scott was not alone in his opinions, and that many of Grant's sitters and patrons appreciated the glitter of his comparatively privileged upbringing, and of his second wife's connections. This sentiment did not, however, exist equally among his compatriots. Anecdote has it that at an Edinburgh dinner party in the early 1830s, attended by a number of artists including Turner, Grant was universally viewed as 'an amateur whom only self-confidence & the 'aristocratic horse' would carry through.'[28]

In a sense it was indeed the 'aristocratic horse' that carried him through, as it was his group equestrian portrait of the young Queen, dated 1838-1839, that has been credited with making Grant's reputation as a portrait painter.[29] Further royal commissions followed during the next few years, petering out in the early 1840s. Queen Victoria sat to Grant for the last time in 1845, by which time she had switched her allegiance to the German painter Franz Xaver Winterhalter. In 1866, when he was appointed President of the Royal Academy of Arts, Victoria registered her concern, stating, "She cannot say she thinks his

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unpublished dissertation: Catherine Wills, 'The life and work of Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.' (Courtauld Institute of Art Ph.D. thesis, 1988).

[26] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 24 November 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 8 October 2014. See also David H. Solkin, *Painting for money: the visual arts and the public sphere in eighteenth-century England* (London, 1993).

[27] David Douglas (ed.) *Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, i (Edinburgh, 1890), 389, 390.

[28] W. Minto (ed.), *Autobiographical notes of the life of William Bell Scott…*, i (London, 1892), 84.

[29] This painting will be discussed in chapter three (109).

selection a good one for Art. […] He has decidedly much talent, but it is the talent of an amateur.'[30]

In 1843, the United Service Club – a gentleman's club for senior officers in the army and navy, founded in 1815 - commissioned Grant to paint a portrait of the Queen (figure 28) to update their series of sovereigns, which began with Charles I. Victoria is portrayed seated, distinctly monarchical with her royal diadem and Garter insignia. The Queen's position is signified not only by the regalia she wears, but also by the sweeping curtain and marble columns behind her, which was typical of grand portraits and gestured at the traditional format of state portraiture. Grant does not quote the tradition fully, however, as Victoria wears the diadem of George IV and the table next to her, which would normally hold the royal regalia, bears a letter and a vase of flowers instead.

Her dress is of white satin trimmed with lace, and is reminiscent of the gown she wore at her wedding three years earlier (figure 29). It lacks the lace flounce on the skirt, but otherwise is strikingly similar. It is an interesting choice not only for this resemblance, but also for its plainness when compared to the ornate gold and silver gown worn by Queen Charlotte in her state portrait by Reynolds (figure 30), a copy of which hung near Victoria's at the club, and by the long line of previous monarchs and their consorts who have been immortalized in oils. Victoria wears this gown, or others of similar design, in several of her early portraits, for which there are a number of possible explanations. It may have been a formula the artist knew that he could repeat easily. It may have been an effort to illustrate her personal purity as symbolized by the white, which is entirely possible in a culture that was placing increasing importance on a woman's virtue, and it could also have been used as an illustration of her wealth (and the nation's) as white satin and lace are notoriously easy to spoil.[31] It may simply have been a favourite style of hers, or

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[30] Queen Victoria to Lord Russell, 19 February 1866, Heinz Archive, Steegman papers.

[31] Anne Buck, *Victorian costume and costume accessories* (Bedford, 1984); Madeleine Ginsburg, 'The Young Queen and Her Clothes', *Early Victorian Costume 1850-1860* (London, 1969); Caroline Goldthorpe, *From queen to empress: Victorian dress 1837-1877…* (New York, 1988); Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the bourgeoisie: a history of clothing in the nineteenth century* (Princeton, 1994); Kay Staniland and Santina M. Levey, 'Queen Victoria's Wedding Dress and Lace', *Costume, the Journal of the Costume Society*, 17

perhaps it was deemed desirable to refer visually to her marriage and, by extension, her happy domestic situation. It certainly could have been a combination of all these factors.

The toned down signs of royalty certainly bring to mind her wedding, and the choice she made then not to wear her robes of state but to appear primarily as a bride. As seen in George Hayter's 1842 painting of Victoria and Albert's wedding (figure 31), she wore no emblems of her monarchical position that would divert attention from the effect of her almost all white ensemble, and from the relationship that was at the heart of the day's events. This particular occasion is one instance in which Victoria herself provided evidence of the exercise of her agency, writing in her journal, 'Talked of wearing my Robes at the Wedding, which I wished not, and which I thought could not be necessary'.[32] A further, subtle reference to that day and to her position as wife is found in the bracelet she wears in Grant's portrait (figure 28), which bears Prince Albert's miniature.

As Victoria's clothing echoed past events in her life, so did her pose - George Hayter had portrayed her similarly in his coronation portrait completed in 1840 (figure 32). In her discussion of Hayter's work, Lara Perry has pointed out that the only precedents for a British monarch to be portrayed seated were Sir Godfrey Kneller's portrait of Queen Anne (figure 33), a copy of which hung next to Victoria's at the United Service Club, and John Michael Wright's of Charles II (figure 34). However, Perry stated that it was unlikely that Wright's portrait would have been known to Hayter (or, presumably, to Grant), and so this pose is likely to be 'quoted' from the Kneller, leading Perry to conclude that 'the sex of the monarch is central to the conception of the portrait'.[33] The idea of Victoria's femininity guiding the choice of pose is further supported by the fact that, in the portrait by Reynolds (figure 30), Queen Charlotte is also seated, and in a similar manner to both Anne and Victoria.

The implications of the primacy of Victoria's femininity in these choices are great, indicating that, in these representations at least, royal women, both

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(1983), 1-32; Kay Staniland, *In royal fashion: The clothes of Princess Charlotte of Wales & Queen Victoria, 1796-1901* (London, 1997).

[32] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 19 December 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 8 October 2014.

[33] Lara Perry, *History's beauties: women and the National Portrait Gallery, 1856-1900* (Aldershot, 2006), 56.

regnant and consorts, were viewed as the model for Victoria rather than her more recent, male predecessors. This applied to more than visual representation, as Anne's coronation was used as a model for Victoria's rather than the recent coronations of her uncles.[34] Although a helpful precedent in matters of protocol and visual representation, Anne was hardly considered a good example for Victoria to follow in matters of sovereignty. When Victoria came to the throne in 1837, Lord John Russell expressed his hope that Britain would be ruled by 'an Elizabeth without her tyranny, an Anne without her weakness'.[35] Anne was described in John Wade's *British History* as 'pious, charitable, an affectionate wife and kind mother' whose notions of government were 'narrow and despotic.'[36] However, while Wade condemned Anne's capabilities as sovereign, he praised her feminine and domestic traits. A large section of his entry on Queen Anne was republished in *The Odd Fellow* in 1841, expanding its reach beyond those with access to the original volumes. John Wade was not the only one with a less than glowing opinion of Queen Anne. In Victor Hugo's estimation, there was 'nobody more awkward than Anne in directing affairs of state'.[37] Hugo's thoughts were originally published in the *Gentleman's Quarterly*, and were repeated in the *Glasgow Herald*. A daily paper available for the price of 1d, the *Herald* significantly broadened the audience for Hugo's statements on Anne.[38]

The ideals of femininity which informed Victoria's portrayals, combined with the British sense of religion and morality, tempered the grandeur of the European state portrait, although it was not cancelled out altogether. Andrew Wilton discussed the inherent pull between 'the practical and Protestant, and

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[34] References to Queen Anne's precedent being discussed by Victoria and her ministers pepper Queen Victoria's journal in the months leading up to her coronation in 1838 and her wedding in 1840.
[35] Cited in Walter L. Arnstein, 'The warrior queen: reflections on Victoria and her world', *Albion: a quarterly journal concerned with British studies*, 30, 1 (1998), 2.
[36] John Wade, *British history, chronologically arranged…* (London, 1847), 299. First published in 1839, the year of the bedchamber crisis, it was in its fifth edition by 1847. This account was reprinted as a short piece entitled 'Queen Anne' in *The Odd Fellow*, 27 February 1841.
[37] 'Queen Anne: from Victor Hugo's New Romance in the Gentleman's Quarterly', *Glasgow Herald*, Friday 8 October 1869.
[38] George Eyre Todd (ed.), *Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909: illustrated with several hundreds of portraits, etc.* (Glasgow, 1909), 191.

the ornamental and Catholic'. This 'native suspicion of frippery, of sexuality and ostentation' could go a long way in explaining the demure nature of many of the portraits of the Queen and her ladies. Yet, as Wilton also pointed out, the appeal of glamour, of overt luxury and showmanship, could not always be denied.[39] Wilton described Grant's 1843 portrait of Victoria (figure **2**8), as encapsulating a 'nonchalant grandeur' that seems to 'imply diffidence towards the attention she is receiving, which is at odds with full-blown state portraiture'. He further states that 'In this, he displays a certain insight into his sitter's character, which was indeed a strange, if unsurprising, mixture of imperious confidence and adolescent doubt.[40]

These characteristics stand out when Grant's painting is juxtaposed with Hayter's state portrait (figure 32). Victoria's figure is posed almost identically in the two works, and they share the basic setting of an armchair, footstool, and canopy/curtain. However, Grant has removed most of the overt signs of sovereignty, excepting the diadem and garter, and has replaced them with mundane elements common to aristocratic portraiture, such as the vase on the table, and the gloves she holds in her left hand. The palette has also changed dramatically from Hayter's reds and golds to Grant's blues, greens, whites, and muted, if warm, browns. Grant's colour scheme serves to highlight Victoria's figure and its delicacy, as opposed to the power and dominance in Hayter's official state portrait. As much as it invokes Victoria's position as queen, Grant's version also brings to mind the recasting of women as fragile and decorative porcelain figurines that was common in portraiture at this time, particularly in the works created for the many editions of the *Court Album* and *Heath's Book of Beauty*.

Grant's portraits of some of Victoria's ladies further elucidate the non-monarchical nature of his portrait of the Queen. Grant had painted a portrait of Anne, Duchess of Atholl, then Lady Glenlyon (1814-1897), in approximately 1839 (figure 35).[41] Like Grant, she was born in Edinburgh and her family seat

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[39] Wilton, 15.
[40] Ibid., 176.
[41] Lady Glenlyon's portrait is listed as having been painted in July 1841 according to Grant's sitter's book, but is dated March 1839 on the copy in the sitter's box at the National Portrait Gallery. The sitter's book is known to contain slight inaccuracies, and as the painting's location and the date of her wedding support the 1839 dating, I am continuing with that year. Heinz

was also in Perthshire. While the extent of their acquaintance is not clear, it is entirely likely that his being a native of the area contributed to him receiving the commission. While it was not recorded exactly who commissioned this portrait of Lady Glenlyon, it is believed that it was painted not long before the Duchess's marriage on 29 October 1839.[42] The fact that it remains in the collection of the Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray family supports the idea that her parents commissioned the work.[43]

This portrait predates the Duchess of Atholl's connection to Queen Victoria's court, as it was not until 1842 that these links were formed. The occasion was Victoria and Albert's first visit to Scotland when the Glenlyons, who were seeking court positions due to financial difficulties, hosted them at Dunkeld. When the royal couple returned two years later, the Glenlyons vacated Blair Castle and gave it over for their use. Lord Glenlyon became the sixth duke of Atholl in 1846, and in 1852 the duchess was appointed Mistress of the Robes for the duration of Lord Derby's administration. In 1854 she became a lady of the bedchamber, a position she held until 1897, and which, while a demotion in status, brought her into closer communication with the Queen. The Duchess of Atholl's reputed skill in dealing with Victoria's stubborn character brought her to be on good terms with the queen, who described her as 'so wise, so excellent and so pleasant and so truly Scotch'.[44] According to an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 'the influence of the Duchess of Atholl upon the Queen was unique. No one, perhaps, ever charmed her Royal mistress so completely'.[45]

In the original portrait by Grant, the Duchess is seated with her hands loosely clasped in her lap, and she gazes just beyond the viewer with an expression of calm dignity. She is seated in the open air, with a tree behind her and a sketchy landscape visible beyond, which balances her figure. Her simple dress of pale satin with lace trimming is similar to the gown worn by the Queen

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Archive, Steegman papers, Sir Francis Grant: List of works MS11; Heinz Archive, Sitter's box for Lady Glenlyon.

[42] Heinz Archive, Steegman papers, Grant, Sir Francis, Steegman's correspondence – misc. (3) 18-B-5: Ninth Duke of Atholl to John Steegman, 24 May 1945.

[43] Frederick Percy Graves was commissioned to create a copy for Blair Castle, the seat of the Duke of Atholl, and remains in the collection there.

[44] Roger Fulford (ed.), *Your dear letter: private correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1865-1871* (London, 1971), 26.

[45] *Quarterly Review*, April 1901 as quoted in Hardie, 227.

in her portrait by Grant, reinforcing the idea that Victoria was dressed according to fashion, and that her style was relatively accessible, at least to the ladies of her acquaintance. In the engraved version (figure 36) Lady Glenlyon's features are softened, her hair is lightened, and there is a closer attention to detail in her costume, creating an overall impression of delicacy. Her slight downward gaze in the painting is raised, and she looks directly at the viewer, which changes her somewhat melancholy expression into one of soft invitation.

Similar to Grant's portrait of the Duchess of Atholl in its simplicity and dignity is his painting of Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford (1818-1891) (figure 37).[46] Lady Waterford had been invited to serve as a lady in waiting, but had refused the honour as her husband did not wish to be parted from her for the required times of service. Reportedly 'cultured, pious, and shy', she surprised many by marrying the raucous Marquess of Waterford in 1842, two months after this portrait was painted. A talented artist in her own right, Lady Waterford's endeavours expanded beyond patronage and collecting into practice, with connections that included many of the Pre-Raphaelite circle. Educated at home, Louisa built on her painting lessons by assiduously copying works both at home and abroad.[47] It is highly likely that the time she spent visiting private collections and public galleries influenced the formation of her taste and may have had a bearing on her choice of portraitist.

Commissioned to hang in the Inner Hall of Curraghmore House, the seat of the Marquis of Waterford, it was placed next to a head and shoulders portrait of her husband Lord Henry, 3rd Marquis of Waterford, also painted by Grant.[48] The Marchioness is portrayed full length, standing in front of a low wall topped

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[46] Grant painted a second portrait of the Marchioness (1859-60; National Portrait Gallery, London), commemorating the Eglinton tournament where the Marquess and Marchioness first met. Lord Eglinton's medieval tournament was held in 1839 at Eglinton Castle in Ayrshire, Scotland, and Waterford was one of thirteen 'knights' who participated in the jousting tournament. As this painting is retrospective, and she is dressed in medieval costume, I will focus my comments on the 1842 portrait. DNB, 'Beresford, Henry de la Poer, third marquess of Waterford': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56726, accessed 12 January 2013.

[47] DNB, 'Beresford [*née Stuart*] Louisa Anne, marchioness of Waterford': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45749/45749?back=,56726, accessed 12 January 2013.

[48] Personal communication from the staff at Curraghmore House, 17 Feburary 2013.

by an immense column, with a vague landscape behind. Her right hand rests on an ornate table, reminiscent of a monarch pointing toward the royal regalia, only her table is empty. Her pale satin gown with a wide lace flounce on the skirt and a lace collar and bow at her décolletage resembles Victoria's wedding gown (figure 29) even more closely than that which Victoria herself wore in Grant's state portrait. Due to the fact that both Victoria and Albert's wedding and her wedding gown itself were highly publicised, it is possible that Lady Waterford's choice of gown was inspired by it.

The similarities between Grant's portrait of Lady Waterford and depictions of the Queen support the notion of the melding of queenship and womanhood that was occurring in mid-Victorian culture. As feminist historians Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have argued, the 'notion of the queen as a model was much played on in the years following the accession of Victoria […] when the wives and mothers of England could all claim to be queens in their own homes'.[49] The idea of woman as queen became increasingly relevant with Victoria on the throne, allowing the average middle-class (or aristocratic) woman to see her metaphorical role played out in reality. Without primary sources explaining the choices for Grant's portrait of the Marchioness of Waterford, it is difficult to say how much of an identification with queenship was intended (or found), but when compared with Victoria's portraiture, there are clear parallels that draw them together, even while emphasizing Victoria's difference.

Grant's portrait of Lady Dalmeny (1819-1901) (figure 38), later the duchess of Cleveland, sheds further light on the duality of Victoria's portrait. Lady Dalmeny was also one of the select group of young ladies who served as a bridesmaid at her wedding. Her first husband, Lord Dalmeny, was a Scottish liberal politician, and served as MP for Stirling Burghs from 1832 to 1847. As with the Duchess of Atholl, it is possible that even if she and Grant were not known to each other beforehand, this geographical connection may have aided in securing him the commission.

Lady Dalmeny is seated and holds on her lap a large volume, with her index finger marking her place. On the table at her right is another volume, the title of which is illegible, resting on top of a blank artist's palette, and next to

[49] Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, 154.

these is a statue of cupid slaying a dragon. Lady Dalmeny read widely, talked very well, and was a good artist', and the accoutrements in this portrait attest to that.[50] Her gown bears some resemblance to the fashions of the late eighteenth-century, with its faux stomacher and overskirt with decorative trim, and may have evoked thoughts of the learned women who led intellectual salons.[51]

Known for her beauty, her talents, and intelligence, as well as her demanding personality and biting wit, Lady Dalmeny is presented less as the epitome of feminine grace than as an accomplished and gifted young woman of standing. The composition of her portrait bears resemblance to that of Victoria, as both women are seated in front of a column and next to a table, on which one elbow rests. Unlike the Queen, Lady Dalmeny directly contemplates the viewer. Her expression, while softened in Samuel William Reynold's engraving (figure 39), is cool, and she appears to be less subjecting herself to the viewer's gaze than meeting it. This, combined with the various accoutrements, make her portrait a more personal statement, and highlights how Victoria's stands out as a representation of majesty as well as of an individual.

As was the case with the Landseer pictures, Victoria's portrayal shares many qualities with those of her ladies. Victoria's gown in Landseer's 1842 painting is remarkably similar to those worn by the Duchess of Atholl and the Marchioness of Waterford, although in her case it carries an added significance in its resemblance to her wedding gown, and the fact that it is accompanied by the royal regalia. The overall composition of her portrait has much in common with that of Lady Dalmeny, although it is considerably grander with two columns instead of one, and the addition of a large and billowing curtain and a significantly more ornate chair. Further elements again combine to keep her at a distance, not only emotionally but also apparently physically. Both the duchess of Atholl and Lady Dalmeny are seated, but only in Victoria's portrait is there space in the foreground, creating a separation between her and the

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[50] Lady St. Helier (Mary Jeune), *Memories of fifty years* (London, 1909), 94.
[51] Eighteenth-century gowns were often reused during this period, for an excellent example, see Johnston, *Nineteenth-century fashion*, 52. See also Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant women: 18th-century bluestockings* (New Haven, 2008); Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: women of reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke, 2010); and Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The bluestocking circle: women, friendship, and the life of the mind in eighteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1990).

viewer. The footstool in Grant's portrait of the Queen adds to this separation, placing her on a higher plane. Unlike the other three ladies, she is turned to her right, looking away, and pays no heed to the spectator. It is also interesting to note that Queen Victoria's features are more finely painted than the others, possibly as the portrait was intended to be engraved, and it was important that her face be easily recognizable. This emphasis could also be tied to the idea that, with the increasing spread of her portraits in a variety of forms, including the new stamp, her features were recognized by a much wider portion of the population than would have recognized her predecessors, and therefore her face alone was a potent symbol of her regal character.[52]

While Victoria appreciated the works of both Landseer and Grant and extended her patronage to each for a time, they were both overshadowed by Franz Xaver Winterhalter. He received more commissions from the Queen than any other artist - eventually creating around 120 works for Victoria and Albert over the course of twenty-five years.[53] Born in Germany in 1805, his artistic talent was recognized early, and in 1818 he began his formal studies at the Herdersche Kunstinstitut. By 1830 he had established himself as a portrait painter, and had moved to Karlsruhe to be near the court of Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden. It was not long before he was in demand at other courts as well, including that of Louis Philippe of France, who was the father of Victoria's aunt Louise, Queen of the Belgians. On Christmas eve 1838, Victoria wrote in her journal that she had been viewing a portrait of Louise with her son Leopold,

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[52] For further information on the penny black, see David Gentleman, 'The design and production of postage stamps', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 122, 5215 (1974), 431-439; A. G. Rigo de Righi, *The story of the penny black and its contemporaries* (London, 1980); Chas Nissen, *The plating of the penny black postage stamp of Great Britain, 1840* (London, 1998).

[53] The main work on Winterhalter is still Richard Ormond and Carol Blackett-Ord (eds.), *Franz Xaver Winterhalter and the courts of Europe 1830-70* (London, 1987). Additionally, Aileen Ribeiro and Margaret Homans have discussed him in connection with Queen Victoria and Empress Eugénie: Aileen Ribeiro, 'Fashion in the Work of Winterhalter', in Ormond and Blackett-Ord, 66-71; Margaret Homans, '"To the Queen's private apartments": royal family portraiture and the construction of Victoria's sovereign obedience' in *Victorian Studies*, 37, 1 (1993), 1-41.

'which is quite lovely, so like her, and beautifully painted (in oils) by a German painter called Winterhalter'.[54]

The Queen's extensive patronage of Winterhalter has often been attributed to Prince Albert's preference for a Germanic style, highly detailed and with a polished finish. Insecure about her own artistic taste in spite of her own skills and training, Victoria had initially turned to Lord Melbourne for advice on such matters, and after her marriage she and Prince Albert worked together to add significantly to the royal collection.[55] It is entirely possible that Albert's opinion weighed heavily in her choice of artists, and could be responsible for her turning against those of her own country, including Landseer and Grant. On one evening in 1845, the Queen railed against British painters, 'both as regards their works and … as regards their prices […]'.[56] An interesting comment, as Grant and Winterhalter both charged £315 for a full-length portrait.[57]

Winterhalter is mainly remembered, however, not for the works he created for Victoria and Albert, but for his portrayals of the European royal courts, in particular that of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie.[58] Famed for her beauty and for leading in the arena of fashion, Eugénie de Montijo (1826-1920) was born in Spain and in 1853 became the Empress of the French upon her marriage to Napoleon III. Winterhalter's individual and group portraits of the Empress aided in the creation and dissemination of the aura of glitter and glamour that was associated with the court, and which Therese Dolan has argued contributed to its downfall.[59] Queen Victoria and Empress Eugénie

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[54] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 24 December 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 8 October 2014.
[55] Leah Kharibian, *Passionate Patrons: Victoria & Albert and the arts*, (London, 2010), 11, 128.
[56] Eleanor Stanley, Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria, to her father, 24 March 1845, as quoted in Wills, *The life and work*, 138.
[57] Heinz Archive, Steegman papers, Sir Francis Grant: List of works MS11; Ormond and Blackett-Ord (eds.), *Franz Xaver Winterhalter*, 193.
[58] See further discussion of Empress Eugénie in chapters three (129-133), four (164-165), and seven (255-259).
[59] Therese Dolan, 'The Empress's new clothes: Fashion and politics in Second Empire France', *Woman's Art Journal*, 15, 1 (1994), 23; Madame Carette, *My mistress, the Empress Eugénie; or, court life at the Tuileries* (London, 1889); Frédéric Loliée, *Women of the Second Empire: chronicles of the court of Napoleon III* (London, 1907).

became good friends, exchanging royal visits and personal communication, in addition to sharing their appreciation and continued patronage of Winterhalter.

However, while Michael Levey agreed that Winterhalter was perfectly suited to record the glamour of the Empress Eugénie's court, he suggested that his aesthetic was not a good fit for Victoria. As he wrote, 'He was perhaps too fashionable, too elegant to convey its domestic charm – or its Germanic dowdiness.'[60] While Winterhalter's style may have been better suited to the French court, and his representations of the British royal family may indeed lack a certain air of comfortable domesticity, his clear and precise style pleased Victoria, who continually referred to his works as 'beautiful'.[61] It is known that Victoria greatly admired Eugénie's beauty and elegance,[62] and was perhaps not averse to Winterhalter's glamorous results. Victoria's enthusiasm for his works was lasting, and even after his death she claimed that 'All these great artists Angeli, Richter etc. cannot throw that life and lightness and animation into a portrait that dear old Winterhalter could'.[63]

The first commission Victoria bestowed on Winterhalter was for a pair of portraits of herself and Prince Albert in 1842 (figures 40 and 41). Unlike the paintings by Landseer or Grant, Victoria levels a direct gaze at the viewer, establishing her powerful position in spite of the relative informality of the picture. The *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* referred to her expression as 'sweet, intelligent, and queenly', and her pose as being 'full of ease and dignity'.[64] She is shown wearing a simple white satin gown trimmed with lace that invokes a sense of delicacy and elegance while illustrating the Queen's considerable wealth without making an ostentatious show of it. Her gown in this portrait, more than any other to date, is similar to her wedding dress, and brings with it those associations. Her jewellery is sparse, and the closest thing to a hint at her royalty is a tiara, which she wears unconventionally, wrapped around her bun instead of on top of her head.

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[60] Levey, 197.
[61] RA VIC/MAIN/QVI (W) 27 July 1842; 24 August 1843; 11 November 1846; 23 July 1850 (Princess Beatrice's Copies). Retrieved 8 October 2014.
[62] Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians 1 May 1855: Benson and Esher, iii, 116.
[63] Christopher Hibbert, *Queen Victoria in her letters and journals* (Gloucestershire, 2000), 238.
[64] 27 March 1847, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*.

In spite of the luxurious materials used, the relative restraint of this ensemble recalls the middle-class values the Queen espoused, and the pointed lack of royal regalia makes this a particularly interesting image as an official representation of the young Queen. The red and white roses dangling negligently from her left hand may offer further insight into this choice. On one level, they represent the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York, united by the sovereign. On another, they bring to mind her moniker, the 'Rosebud of England'. Henry H. Davis published a song of that name in 1838, in which he directly connects her position as ruler and the people's love for their queen to her goodness and sweetness, highlighting the moral qualities that allied her with her subjects instead of mentioning divine right or the pomp and court so often associated with royalty.[65]

Victoria commissioned Winterhalter to paint copies of these portraits as a gift for the French King Louis-Philippe, with one significant alteration: the addition of the Garter insignia to the Queen's ensemble (figure 42). The riband, garter, and badge proclaim Victoria's sovereignty without resorting to such a clear statement of power and position as that visible in Hayter's earlier picture. Numerous copies of this version survive, and it was engraved for publication as well (figure 43).[66] It was also this version that went on display at Colnaghi and Puckle's in the spring of 1843, while the engravers were at work.[67]

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[65] In this song, Davis referred to Victoria as a glorious bud that eclipsed the full flowers of other empires, and ended each stanza with 'The Rosebud of England! VICTORIA for ever!' Henry H. Davis, *The fancies of a dreamer* (London, 1842), 107. Other references to Victoria as the rosebud of England, poetic or otherwise, were published in the *Hampshire Advertiser*, 10 December 1836; *Worcester Journal*, 23 November 1837; and *Hereford Times*, 15 February 1840, to name a few.

[66] A particularly fine version is in the collection of the Earl of Hardwicke. Further copies were commissioned for the Examination School, Cambridge; Burghley; the National Gallery of Art, Washington; Government House, Sydney; and the German royal collection. This likeness was also set into in various smaller items, such as bracelets, that were given as marks of favour and affection. Copies of the original version were commissioned for the Duchess of Kent, Baroness Lehzen, and one set was sent to the Fürstenbrau in Veste Coburg, Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 287.

[67] *Carlisle Journal*, 8 April 1843, 'News of the week'.

Queen Victoria noted in her journal that 'the likeness is perfect & the picture very fine',[68] and the fact that she sent it to embassies, where it would act as her representative, suggests that she approved of the portrait and of its visual interpretation of her reign. Victoria's admiration for Winterhalter's skill did not, however, mean that the artist received wide patronage from the British aristocracy and upper classes. Due at least in part to the limited time he spent in England, which was commandeered by the Queen, he remained at the fringe of the artistic networks that had embraced both Landseer and Grant. Thus, while he created an abundance of images of Victoria, he painted few of the women who surrounded her.

However, his connections to the various European courts brought him into contact with many ladies of rank similar to those in Victoria's circle, as well as to a number of women who were closely connected to the Queen herself. In the same year that he painted his first portrait of Victoria, he took the likeness of Alexandrine, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (figure 44).[69] Alexandrine had recently married Prince Albert's older brother Ernst, thereby becoming Albert's sister-in-law and Victoria's cousin by marriage. She is placed, as Victoria had been, in a generic moody landscape, and wears a gown of similar fashion to the Queen's. However, the vivid colouring of Alexandrine's ensemble, blue-green satin overlaid with black lace and embellished by a large red corsage at centre front, highlights Victoria's choice of white. Additionally, by comparison to the Duchess's tilted head, wistful expression, and busy hands, Queen Victoria seems firm, decided, and in control.

Another side of Victoria is visible in Winterhalter's next portrait of the Queen (figure 45), which further elucidates the construction of her public self by contrast with this more private image. Commissioned as a surprise gift for Albert's birthday in 1843, it was hung in his Writing-Room at Windsor, and, in spite of its intimate nature, was engraved by Francis Holl (figure 46).[70]

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[68] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 June 1842 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 8 October 2014.

[69] The finished product, which Victoria called 'perfect', was placed in her Sitting-Room at Buckingham Palace. The picture also found a wider audience through a lithograph by Baugniet. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 August 1842 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 8 October 2014; Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 327.

[70] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 288.

Although it was published on 26 August 1843, few copies survive, possibly suggesting that it was not as widely available as the Queen's other engraved portraits.

In this painting, the hints at sensuality seen in her engagement portrait by Landseer become more explicit statements. Victoria is relaxed, leaning back against a plush red velvet chair. Her hair, always carefully pinned back in public, has come half undone as though she is in the act of undressing. Her lips are parted, the light gleams on her bare shoulders, and her gaze is indirect but inviting. Victoria's agreement to, and possible instigation of, such a portrayal underscores the artificial nature of the more conventional portrait of 1842. The shared features of the two commissions – they are by the same artist, feature the same sitter, and were painted within a year of each other – suggest the range of representational possibilities that Queen Victoria and Winterhalter saw open to them, and emphasizes the fact that each picture was the result of a series of choices.

Winterhalter produced yet another version of Victoria in his commanding portrait of 1843 (figure 47), which was accompanied by a pendant of Albert (figure 48).[71] In 1847, Victoria ordered a copy to be sent to a number of British Embassies, including the one in Paris where it still hangs in the entrance hall.[72] A much more traditional statement of her monarchy than the 1842 portrait she had previously sent to France, it is particularly interesting when compared to an earlier, similarly composed effort that had not met with the Queen's approbation.

In 1839, Victoria had confided to her journal about the 'horror' she felt at the prospect of David Wilkie's full-length portrait (figure 49), which she

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[71] As Oliver Millar has noted, this painting is not technically a state portrait as she wears the Garter robes. It does, however, meet the rest of the requirements. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, xxvi.

[72] Mary Beal and John Cornforth, *British Embassy, Paris: the house and its works of art* (London, 1992), 15. Copies were also sent to Leopold, King of the Belgians, Tsarina and Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg; the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; the British Embassies in Lisbon and the Cape, the Tasmanian Legislative Council in Hobart; the Government House, Bermuda; and the Deputy British High Commissioner's Office, Madras. Further copies were given to friends, relatives, and local corporations. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 287-8.

described as 'too atrocious', being sent to Paris.[73] Wilkie's painting followed the main traditions of state portraiture, portraying the sovereign in ceremonial robes, and surrounding her with a column, draped curtain, and a table bearing the royal regalia. As other paintings, such as Winterhalter's, adhered to the same basic formula, this was probably not the cause of her reaction. When juxtaposed with the picture by Wilkie, the Winterhalter seems especially vibrant, crisp, and majestic. The red that fills the painting and slashes across Victoria's body is redolent of power, and the Queen's direct gaze is brimming with confidence, as opposed to the slightly diffident expression of Wilkie's Queen, who almost blends into her murky surroundings. In 1843, Victoria described Winterhalter's finished painting as 'really splendid, both as to painting & likeness', and her enthusiasm for it only grew over time.[74] In 1899, she referred to it as 'the portrait she liked best', and it was the one she wished to represent her at Kensington Palace.[75] The originals were placed in the Throne Room at Windsor, where they remain, and multiple engravings (such as figure 50) ensured its wide dispersal.

Winterhalter revisited the 1843 portraits the next year, producing a new set in which the Queen and Prince Consort are dressed in eveningwear (figures 51 and 52). Victoria's gown is yet again like her wedding dress, and each piece of her jewellery – the locket bearing a curl of Albert's hair, the brooch he had given her for their wedding, and the bracelet that bears his miniature – refers back to her husband. While Victoria wears the Garter insignia, the Regal Circlet has been replaced by a chaplet of red and white roses similar to those she held in the 1842 portrait (figure 40), again referencing both the unity of the Houses of York and Lancaster, as well as her status as the 'Rosebud of England'. The background is simpler and of a more neutral colour palette, and in this later version, Victoria gently pulls the curtain aside to reveal a large vase of flowers

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[73] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 20 March 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 8 October 2014.'Too atrocious' is double underlined in the original version. In the end it was Hayter's dynamic and charismatic portrait that Victoria chose to represent her in various embassies. A later copy of Hayter's portrait still hangs in the French embassy's Glazed Galleries, and the original is in Holyrood House. Beal and Cornforth, *British Embassy, Paris*, 36.
[74] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 30 September 1843 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 8 October 2014.
[75] Millar, *Victorian painting*, 287.

instead of gesturing towards the royal regalia. Her general bearing and facial expression, however, remain the same.

This version of the Queen, while not as widely disseminated as the earlier, grander portrait on which it was based, also served a public function in that copies were placed in the Victoria College in Jersey and the Town Hall at Windsor, and were given to the Duchess of Gloucester and the Earl of Ellesmere.[76] Additionally, it was engraved with a few changes (figure 53), and would have provided a public counterpoint to the statelier portrait. These two pictures by Winterhalter illustrate the malleability of the Queen's image, showing how easily she could slip from ceremonial monarch to royal female, from laying a heavy emphasis on her sovereignty, to highlighting her femininity with references to her domestic felicity.

Winterhalter further explored this theme over the next two years, producing two more pictures of the Queen in eveningwear with a chaplet of flowers. In the 1845 version (figure 54), she wears the Garter insignia, large and luxurious jewels, and again levels her gaze at the viewer. It was placed in the Queen's Sitting-Room at Osborne, but there is no record of its having been engraved, suggesting that its audience was limited.[77] In 1846 he painted a watercolour of Victoria (figure 55) without the Garter insignia, and with relatively simple jewels, the bright red of her chaplet mirroring the trim on her gown. Although her pose is similar to that of the 1842 portrait (figure 40), her head is turned and her gaze softened and lowered away from the viewer. In contrast to the directness of Winterhalter's previous images of the Queen, here she is presented in a style that bears relation to the *Court Album* and *Heath's Book of Beauty*. This is further aided by the inherent delicacy of the medium, being a watercolour as opposed to an oil painting, and its small size (30.0 x 23.5 cm). It was this image, not the more extravagant and clearly monarchical one of 1845, which was granted wider purchase through the production of a lithograph (figure 56).

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[76] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 291. Princess Mary, Duchess of Gloucester and Edinburgh, was said to be Victoria's favourite aunt. Lord Francis Leveson-Gower was created the first Earl of Ellesmere in 1846, and it is possible that this portrait was given to him after one of Queen Victoria's visits to his home, Worsley New Hall, in either 1851 or 1857.
[77] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 290.

Winterhalter portrayed Augusta of Saxe-Weimar, Princess of Prussia and later Queen of Prussia and German Empress (1811-1890), posed similarly, and also wearing a chaplet of roses (figure 57).[78] The Princess and Victoria were closely connected – Augusta acted as a sponsor at Prince Leopold's Christening, and her eldest son eventually married Victoria's eldest daughter, the Princess Royal. The fact that Augusta, who was also a royal, albeit a consort, was also presented without any signifiers of her role but was shown as a wealthy, aristocratic woman illustrates the point that Queen Victoria's images made use of a trend that expanded beyond Britain, and which influenced European royalty as well as the British.

While in England during the summer of 1849, Winterhalter painted the portraits of three of Victoria's ladies at the Queen's behest: Elizabeth Wellesley, Marchioness of Douro and later Duchess of Wellington (1820-1904), who served as a Lady of the Bedchamber from 1843-1858, and as Mistress of the Robes from 1861-1868 and 1874-1880 (figure 58);[79] Charlotte, Viscountess, later Countess, Canning (1817-1861), who served as a Lady of the Bedchamber from 1842 to 1855 (figure 59); and Frances, Viscountess Jocelyn (figure 60), whose portrait by Landseer has already been discussed. Each of the three ladies wears a white gown and minimal jewellery, and is shown against a plain background. Lady Jocelyn is the only one of the three who looks out at the viewer, while both Lady Wellesley and Lady Canning appear to be conscious of the artist, and the impression of directness is not lost although it is aimed elsewhere. All three were hung in the Small Drawing-Room in Windsor Castle, although the portrait of Lady Canning eventually entered a private collection.[80]

Although Victoria did not commission a painting of herself in the same format, Winterhalter represented her twice in similar styles. The first of these was a private image, commissioned in 1847 as a gift for Prince Albert on their seventh wedding anniversary (figure 61). Dressed as she had been at her

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[78] This portrait remains in the Dressing-Room at Buckingham Palace. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 316. A lithograph was made by T. Fairland.
[79] According to the Royal Collection website, Winterhalter signed the Marchioness of Douro's portrait with the date of 1848. However, Victoria discusses the painting of the picture as taking place in May 1849. http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404907/elizabeth-marchioness-of-douro-1820-1904, accessed 11 October 2014; RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 5 May, 28 June 1849 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 11 October 2014.
[80] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 319.

wedding, Victoria is turned toward the left side of the picture frame, and looks ahead of her, absorbed in her own thoughts. Only half-length and with a plain background, there is nothing in the composition to draw attention away from Victoria's face, except for her own ensemble, which clearly direct the viewer's thoughts to her wedding, her preference to appear as bride rather than queen, and the domestic example she and Albert had set during the ensuing seven years.

While the serenity and seriousness of Victoria's countenance has more in common with the royal and aristocratic traditions of portraiture, Winterhalter's picture of the Queen also bears a distinct resemblance to the engraving of Helena, Lady St. John Mildmay (d. 1897) that was published in the 1852 edition of *The Court Album* (figure 62).[81] It is unclear whether John Hayter was aware of the Winterhalter portrait, but it is almost certain that both he and his sitter were aware of what Victoria had worn at her wedding, which had been clearly visible in countless prints and widely discussed in the media at the time.[82]

The second of the portraits of Victoria (figure 63), dated 1856, is again a half-length with a plain background, but there is no mistaking the monarchical aspect of this image.[83] Although there is no curtain draped in the background, the vivid red velvet of her gown takes its place, and the black lace trim and stole play dramatically against the saturated colour. Victoria wears the Garter sash with the lesser George, and her majesty is further proclaimed by the regal circlet. The luxurious sparkle of the circlet is mirrored by her necklace of Hanoverian diamonds, which lead the eye toward the brooch containing the

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[81] *The court album: twelve portraits of the female aristocracy*, (London, 1852), frontispiece, 1-3. Lady St. John Mildmay (d. 1897) was niece of Earl Grey and wife of the future fifth baronet of St John Mildmay.

[82] There was considerable discussion of the gown beforehand, such as *Morning Post*, 24 January 1840, 'Her Majesty's bridal dress'; as well as reportage on it after the event: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 13 February 1840, 'Her Majesty's marriage'. The *Worcester Chronicle* even offered an engraving of the Queen in her bridal attire to anyone who purchased a certain issue of the paper: *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 19 February 1840. For an in-depth examination of Queen Victoria's wedding ensemble, see Staniland and Levey, 'Queen Victoria's Wedding Dress and Lace'.

[83] At least one version served a diplomatic purpose, being presented to the Agent-General for Queensland, and a lithograph (figure 64) was produced for sale. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 296.

infamous Koh-i-noor. The Koh-i-noor had been claimed on behalf of Queen Victoria as part of the terms of the Treaty of Lahore in 1849, visually displaying the Queen's expanding power and presaging her becoming Empress of India in 1877. A central piece at the Great Exhibition of 1851, thousands upon thousands of British men and women as well as foreign visitors had been able to see it in person. This stone is likely to have been widely recognized, and its significance understood by those who viewed this painting.

Winterhalter's watercolour of the Queen painted the year before (figure 65) and published as an engraving (figure 66) has similar hints at luxury and monarchy, although not on quite the same scale. While no primary sources give direct explanations for the increased formality in the Queen's pictorial presentation, it is possible that it was linked to the turmoil at home and abroad. The Crimean War (1853-56) exposed deep incompetence within the military and the government.[84] These years also saw the rise of trade unions, and a number of strikes and lockouts, some of which ended in violence. A visual emphasis on Victoria's position, on the supposed stability of the government, and on Britain's international prestige may have been viewed as useful at this time.

Winterhalter brought the Queen's pictorial majesty to its apex in the 1859 state portrait (figure 67). Victoria is seated, and her skirts and State Robes take up a large portion of the canvas, so that she physically dominates the space. While Victoria nearly fills the picture frame horizontally, there is a significant amount of carpet in the foreground, maintaining a distance between the Queen and the viewer. This is further accentuated by the step that creates a horizontal barrier across the bottom of the image. The familiar billowing curtain remains, but is constrained to the upper right corner, allowing the focus to be concentrated on the Queen's figure.

The Imperial State Crown, another element that is common in the genre, is set on the usual cushion but is slightly in shadow, and the majority of the pillow is taken up by a sheaf of papers Victoria holds in her left hand. There is no legible writing on the papers to identify them as a specific document, but it

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[84] Alan J. Guy, 'Administrative breakdown', in Alastair Massie, *A most desperate undertaking: the British army in the Crimea, 1854-56* (London, 2004), 158-193; Alexis Troubetzkoy, *The Crimean War: the causes and conflicts of a medieval conflict fought in a modern age* (London, 2006), 21-25.

is possible that the simple visual suggestion of Victoria having a direct, even physical, connection to the documents through which the nation was founded, or through which its governance was facilitated, may be tied to the fear prevalent at the time that Albert had overstepped his role as Prince Consort, and was secretly manipulating the throne.[85]

This painting is certainly assertive in its presentation of Victoria's authority as Queen regnant. Her lips, slightly parted in the 1843 portrait (figure 47), are closed here, and her eyes focus on a point just beyond the viewer. She appears to have settled into her royal role, no longer seeking visual contact with her audience either in search of validation or in an attempt to assert her authority. Her considerable wealth, and that of the nation, is also more conspicuously on display, building on what was visible in the 1855 and 1856 portraits. The Queen has left off the Turkish diamonds that she wore in the 1843 portrait and at her wedding, and has replaced them with the magnificent stones refitted by Garrard's after she was forced to cede the Hanoverian jewels. Additionally, her bodice drips with jewels, and her sleeves and skirt are embellished with gold. A far grander and more luxurious image than even the 1843 portrait, it forms a stark contrast to the subtle manner in which the Queen was represented in 1842.

The critic at *The Times*, who viewed the copy bound for the Canadian Legislature, was not overly fond of the painting, remarking simply that, as it was a gift, it was 'not to be looked at too critically'.[86] However, the abundance of copies and prints (such as figure 68) suggests that these official versions of the Queen and Prince Consort (figure 69) found some purchase among the viewing public,[87] and Victoria was clearly pleased with the image, repeatedly referring

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[85] Nadel, 177-78. For an interesting response to the widespread grumblings in the press, see F. Airplay (pseud.), *Prince Albert, why is he unpopular?* (London, 1857), and for a further discussion of the Prince Consort's role, see Weintraub, *Uncrowned king*.

[86] *The Times*, 30 May 1861, 'The royal pictures in Pall-Mall'.

[87] Copies abounded, and according to the press, could be seen in locations as far-flung as a British ship moored in Japanese waters, and in situations as incongruous as a celebration of the anniversary of American independence. *Derby Mercury*, 18 May 1859, 'Loyalty in the Japanese waters'; and *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 9 July 1859, 'Anniversary of American independence'.

to it as 'magnificent'.[88] She had wanted a new portrait for the previous year at least, and had been looking at other pictures to gather ideas. In a letter to her eldest daughter, Victoria mentioned considering having something done similar to Winterhalter's painting of Isabella II of Spain (figure 70).[89] She also would have been aware of Winterhalter's more recent portrayal of the Empress Eugénie (figure 71), as Mary Curtis had been commissioned to make copies of Winterhalter's originals for the Royal Collection.[90] Both Isabella and Eugénie's portraits have more in common with the 1843 painting of Victoria, as their poses are nearly identical, and the sweeping red curtains nearly fill the backgrounds of each image. The 1859 portrait, then, appears to be a departure from Winterhalter's usual representation of female royalty.

Ira B. Nadel has pointed out that 1859 was a tumultuous year in Britain, with the fall of Palmerston's government, the brief attempt by Derby to lead, and the return of Palmerston, which heralded the rise of the Liberal party. Relations with the French were going through another difficult period with the possibility of invasion looming, and Prince Albert was widely vilified in the press for ostensibly controlling Victoria, and usurping her position on the throne.[91] Nadel has argued that Winterhalter's portrait of Victoria 'anachronistically reinforces the traditional authority and duties of the Queen', suggesting that this portrait was a planned attempt at reasserting her sovereign status, and presenting a calm and steady image of the British monarchy and of the nation as a whole.[92] The view of the Houses of Parliament out the window, the papers in the Queen's hand, the seriousness of her expression, and the restrained curtain that allows Victoria's features to dominate the scene, support this view.

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[88] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 21 and 29 June 1859 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 14 October 2014.
[89] Victoria admired Winterhalter's painting of Isabella II with her daughter, the Princess of Asturias, and originally planned to pose with her youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice. Queen Victoria to Princess Frederick of Prussia, 16 April 1859; Roger Fulford (ed.), *Dearest child: letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal 1858-1861* (London, 1964), 179.
[90] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/402021/eugenie-empress-of-the-french-1826-1920, accessed 14 March 2015.
[91] Nadel, 177-78. For further discussion of the political issues that year, see Hugh Cunningham, *The challenge of democracy: Britain 1832-1918* (London, 2001), 58-60.
[92] Nadel, 178.

Works such as this one, as well as Winterhalter's 1843 portrait and the Hayter and Wilkie of 1840, suggest that Queen Victoria, and the artists she patronized, did not fully abandon the traditions of royal portraiture and the template of the state portrait. However, the resolutely monarchical pictures were outnumbered by those that showed her in a more relaxed, and more approachable, light. For the most part, she eschewed the ornate gold and silver costume of her forebears in favour of relatively simple, if still luxurious, gowns, similar to those seen in fashion plates and in paintings of other wealthy British women. Furthermore, she sent Winterhalter's surprisingly non-monarchical 1842 portrait to multiple embassies, and his striking painting from 1845, with the massive pearls and garter insignia, was not published as an engraving while the more bourgeois watercolour from the next year was. This choice, although we don't know who made it, is particularly fitting considering the constitutionalization of the monarchy, which led to the further restriction of the Queen's powers, and her growing role as figurehead of the nation.

Comparing Victoria's portraits to those of past monarchs is important as it illustrates the ways in which images of her departed from the traditions of royal representation, but it is only half of the equation. The juxtaposition of paintings of aristocratic ladies with those of the queen sheds light on how much she, and the artists who portrayed her, utilized the contemporary conventions for female portraiture. Landseer's 1839 depiction of the Queen and his painting of the Duchess of Argyll from around that time, for example, are strikingly similar. Furthermore, the prettified features, large eyes, long necks, and idealized figures across the board testify to the influence of the hyper-feminine style of the *Court Album* and *Heath's Book of Beauty* on the portraits of her ladies and of Victoria herself, pointing to effects made on the Queen by her own cultural context, including the rising domestic ideology.

Most often, representations of the Queen blended both the monarchical and the feminine, the balance between the two differing according to the artist, commission, and the state of the government at the time of the painting's creation. They showed a woman who upheld the same moral and cultural ideals as her subjects, and yet was capable of performing her duties as Queen and commanding the respect of other sovereigns. The publication of engravings of many of the portraits discussed in this chapter, their display in public areas, in

private homes, and their reproduction in periodicals brought them to many who would otherwise have been unable to see the originals and provided them with a visual record of the ways in which Victoria was blending her two main roles. In some particular cases, this involved adapting a subgenre traditionally associated with men, such as equestrian portraiture, and adapting it for her own purposes, as will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

Fit to ride, fit to rule: Queen Victoria's equestrian portraits

Queen Victoria's first public appearance took place in 1819 when her father, the Duke of Kent, brought his infant daughter to a military review at Hounslow Heath.[1] The Duke of Kent had served in the Hanoverian foot guards, as an officer in Gibraltar, and had risen to the post of Commander-in-chief of British forces in North America in 1799. His return to Gibraltar in 1802 as governor, tasked with reforming the licentious troops, took a disastrous turn when his extreme disciplinary measures resulted in a death and provoked mutiny.[2] In spite of this, Victoria held her 'beloved Father' in high esteem, believing him to be the 'best of all' his brothers. She took great pride in being the daughter of a soldier, and in her role as Commander-in-chief of the British Armed Forces.[3]

Prevented from taking command in battle due to her sex, the Queen revelled in the military duties available to her, including signing commissions. When it was suggested that she be relieved from such an unnecessary burden on her time, Victoria responded by declaring that 'the queen does not at all object to the amount of trouble … entailed upon her, as she feels amply compensated by the advantage of keeping up a personal connection between the sovereign and the army'.[4] She also had the right to design uniforms, a right she exercised by returning the cavalry coats from red to blue, and allowing the Horse Artillery and cavalry units to once again wear moustaches.[5] Her involvement was not superficial only, as she followed the movements of her troops with great interest and relished the opportunity to participate in

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[1] John D.S. Campbell, *VRI: Her life and empire*, 1901, 18.
[2] DNB, 'Edward, Prince, Duke of Kent and Straithairn': *http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8526?docPos=1,* accessed 20 August 2013.
[3] Royal Archives, Y 106.14, as quoted in DNB, 'Edward, Prince, Duke of Kent and Straithairn'; RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 2 August 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[4] Queen Victoria to Sir George Grey, 14 July 1848, as quoted in John Raymond (ed.), *Queen Victoria's early letters* (London, 1963), 146.
[5] Scott Hughes Myerly, *British military spectacle: from the Napoleonic wars through the Crimea* (London, 1996), 32.

reviews.[6] After reviewing the troops for the first time, Victoria wrote that, 'The whole went off beautifully; and I felt for the first time like a man, as if I could fight myself at the head of my Troops'.[7]

At a subsequent review, Lord Melbourne and Lord Hill convinced Victoria to ride in a carriage, much to her dismay. She lamented, 'I could have cried almost not to have *ridden* and been in *my right* place as I ought'.[8] A skilled and enthusiastic rider, Victoria appeared at future reviews on horseback whenever possible, although her frequent pregnancies sometimes necessitated the use of a carriage. The painted records of these reviews featured the Queen, sometimes in the midst of performing her duties, but often with Victoria front and centre and the troops performing their manoeuvres in the background. The pictures in the latter category were more than just illustrations of military happenings, often taking the form of a royal equestrian portrait. Although not unprecedented, these portrayals are particularly remarkable in terms of Victoria's gender as this subgenre is traditionally associated with masculinity and kingly authority.

Most interesting are the pictures that were commissioned by non-royal patrons, who chose for her to be portrayed in her capacity as head of the military. These portraits are a rich source of information not only on the official construction of Victoria's pictorial representation, based on the works that she commissioned, but on the image that her subjects reflected back onto her through commissions by societies and organisations such as Christ's Hospital and the Army and Navy Club. Furthermore, these artists reworked some of their pictures, transplanting the initially monarchical version of the Queen into a variety of circumstances, thus removing her from the overtly royal and militaristic context but leaving traces of the original meaning. In other cases, the composition was revised, replacing Victoria with a non-royal subject, highlighting the versatility of Victoria's image in its ability to be co-opted by members of the gentry who had none of her royal lineage or authority.

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[6] VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 September 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts), 11 June 1842 (Princess Beatrice's copies), and 26 June 1857 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 10 January 2015.
[7] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 September 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[8] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 9 July 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts), original emphasis. Retrieved 22 November 2014.

Walter Liedtke has suggested that the appropriation of equestrian portraiture by non-royal patrons and subjects during Victoria's reign contributed to the dilution of the genre's form, and he argued that, 'it had changed completely when royalty adopted bourgeois ideals'.[9] Instead of being monarchical images replete with meaning, Liedtke stated that, out of the images painted of Victoria, there are a few that 'happen to be equestrian portraits'. The ideals of which he spoke surely informed the composition of, and layers of meaning within, some of Victoria's portraits on horseback, such as Sir Francis Grant's *Queen Victoria riding out* (1840, figure 72). Liedtke placed this work in a long line of bourgeois and aristocratic portraits beginning in the seventeenth century, and Desmond Shawe-Taylor likened this painting to a courtship narrative, in which a wealthy young heiress was accompanied by her guardian, and wooed by four eligible suitors. Shawe-Taylor points out that this is not far from the truth, if one replaces the pursuit of romantic love with that of royal favour.[10] However, the original characteristics of the genre, such as the monarch wearing armour or a uniform while riding a powerful horse over which he or she maintains control with grace and ease, were still present in some of Victoria's portraits, if melded with a bourgeois aesthetic.

In his discussion of the royal equestrian portraiture that predated Victoria, Liedtke identified three trends, which he loosely termed 'imperial, Christian, and rulership'.[11] The first is a reference to the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius (figure 73), misidentified as the Emperor Constantine during the nineteenth century. As John Moffitt has pointed out, Constantine was not only the first Christian Emperor, but was believed to be British by birth.[12] For subsequent British monarchs, who also acted as head of the Church of England, these factors added layers of meaning to representations styled after this monument. Additionally, Roy Strong argued that this statue was, to the artists, rulers, and viewing public of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 'the

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[9] Walter Liedtke, *The royal horse and rider: painting, sculpture, and horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York, 1989), 85.
[10] Desmond Shawe-Taylor, *The conversation piece: scenes of fashionable life* (London, 2009), 167.
[11] Liedtke, *The royal horse*, 37.
[12] John F. Moffitt, '"Le roi à la ciasse"?: kings, Christian knights, and Van Dyck's singular "Dismounted equestrian-portrait" of Charles I', *Artibus et Historiae*, 4, 7 (1983), 82.

epitome of all imperial aspirations', which was used as a 'public assertion of dynastic authority' in the sixteenth century.[13] In the mid-nineteenth century, as Victoria came to reign over an increasingly powerful and glorious Britain and was in need of visual connectors to the male kings who preceded her, equestrian portraiture proved a viable option.

Liedtke's second category refers to the sovereign as defender of the Christian faith, which John Moffitt explored through Anthony van Dyck's *Charles I at the hunt* (figure 74). Moffitt likened Charles I to St. George, the 'epitome of the British Christian Knight', and tied Van Dyck's image to that of the knight in Albrecht Dürer's 'Knight, Death, and the Devil' (1513, figure 75), who had just emerged victorious from 'a symbolic "dark wood"'.[14] In his discussion of this woodcut, published in 1556, Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzani suggested that the horse's 'reverent exhaustion' symbolized the taming of passion and the submission to reason.[15] Victoria may not have been cast in the traditional mould of the 'Christian Knight', but was still referred to in similar language. In 1858 the *Leeds Mercury* spoke of Britain's security 'under her shield', calling to mind the image of Saint George and the Dragon.[16] While the author did mention her protection of religion, it was with regard to the variety of faiths practiced by those belonging to the expanding British Empire, instead of strictly High Church Anglicanism.

Foremost, however, was the promise under Victoria's reign that 'life is sacred, property is secure, the husbandmen sows and reaps, the capitalist invests his money safely, and the labourer goes forth to his work'.[17] Victoria was, it seems, not only the head of the church, but also the protector of bourgeois financial interests. Moreover, she was held up as 'the brightest

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[13] Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on horseback* (London, 1972), 50.
[14] Moffit, 'Le roi à la ciasse', 85.
[15] Ibid., 88.
[16] This image is also indicative of the nineteenth-century interest in the past, medievalism in particular. For a sampling of work on this topic, see Alice Chandler, *A dream of order: the medieval ideal in nineteenth-century English literature* (London, 1971); Joanna Banham, 'Past and present': images of the Middle Ages in the early nineteenth century', in Joanna Banham and Jennifer Harris (eds.), *William Morris and the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1984), 17-31; Stephanie L. Barczewski, *Myth and national identity in nineteenth-century Britain: the legends of King Arthur and Robin Hood* (Oxford, 2000); and Clare A. Simmons, *Popular medievalism in Romantic-era Britain* (Basingstoke, 2011).
[17] *The Leeds Mercury*, 7 September 1858.

exemplar to the matrons of England' in her preference for family life over the 'irksome tasks of royalty'[18] and the extravagances of the European royal courts,[19] taming the desires for luxury and entertainment and submitting to duty.

The third of Liedtke's trends refers to the connection between 'reining' and 'reigning'. Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, which was published in 1531 and widely read in England, included an image of a rearing horse with a caption that read 'to him unable to flatter'. Diego López explained in his 1615 interpretation of this work that the horse would throw anyone, king or peasant, but would obey a truly skilled rider, one able to command obedience and inspire trust - qualities that also made a suitable ruler.[20] Captain Richardson, author of one of the many manuals on the art of riding written for a female audience in the early years of Victoria's reign, noted the importance of a soft hand in properly guiding the horse. He wrote, 'It will be found generally that the lady attains this delicacy of hand in riding with much greater facility than the gentleman. With the lady it appears to be spontaneous; or it arises either from exquisite organization or moral perception of right'.[21] Captain Richardson's connection of morality and the gentle, but effective, guidance of the horse, is reminiscent of the panegyrics on Queen Victoria's leadership written in the contemporary press. It was her 'virtuous and exemplary conduct […] as well as the propriety of her actings as a sovereign' that had 'given her a deep hold on the affections of the people'.[22] Enshrined in their hearts, she was safe from the threat of republicanism, and her place on the throne was secure.[23]

While Victoria's image was steeped in bourgeois ideals, it was not completely dominated by them. A sizeable proportion of Victoria's portraits on horseback were painted within the traditions of royal equestrian portraiture,

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[18] *Morning Post*, 3 February 1858.
[19] *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 16 January 1858, reprinting an item from 'a Philadelphia paper'. This article made pointed references to Empress Eugénie's love of fashion and entertainment as opposed to Victoria's devotion to family and duty.
[20] Walter A. Liedtke and John F. Moffitt, 'Velázquez, Olivares, and the Baroque equestrian portrait', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123, 942 (1981), 535.
[21] Captain Richardson, *Horsemanship; or, the art of riding and managing a horse…* (London, 1853), 89.
[22] *Elgin Courier*, 22 September 1854.
[23] Which is not to say, of course, that the press was unanimous in its regard for her. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, for example, often criticized the Queen.

and rely heavily on the works of Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)[24] and Diego Velázquez (1599-1660),[25] who had produced highly influential portrayals of the English and Spanish courts respectively. While these images of the queen may have lost some of the power and resonance that pictures of her male predecessors held for certain audiences, they belong to the same traditions. It is this category of her paintings, namely, those that emphasize her royal and military power and duties, as opposed to those that explicitly favour her 'bourgeois' image, which will be the focus of this chapter. The works of Sir Francis Grant and Sir Edwin Landseer will again form the backbone of the study. Franz Xaver Winterhalter and Count d'Orsay's pictures of the Queen on horseback will also be discussed, as will Charles Édouard Boutibonne's individual portraits of Victoria, Albert, Emperor Napoleon III, and Empress Eugénie on horseback.

After Sir Francis Grant painted *Queen Victoria riding out*, he received commissions to paint more traditional equestrian portraits of the Queen for outside organizations, such as Christ's Hospital. The school had long benefited from its royal associations, being installed in the buildings of the former Grey Friars Monastery, which had been given to the city by Henry VIII. The first students were admitted in 1552, and Edward VI granted the school its Royal Charter the next year. On 9 March 1845, Queen Victoria, who had recently donated £1000 to the school, paid an official visit to Christ's Hospital to attend one of their public suppers.[26] The public suppers were held in the Great Hall,[27] as seen in an engraving published in the *ILN* shortly after her visit (figure 76). Victoria was impressed by the event, and noted that the boys 'all looked[ed]

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[24] Much useful scholarship exists on van Dyck's life and works, such as Christopher Brown, *Van Dyck* (Oxford, 1982); Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London, 1982); Alfred Moir, *Anthony Van Dyck* (London, 1994); Robin Blake, *Anthony Van Dyck: a life 1599-1641* (London, 1999); James Lawson, *Van Dyck: paintings and drawings* (London, 1999); and Susan J. Barnes et al, *Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings* (London, 2004).
[25] A similar body of work exists on Velázquez, including: Nicola Spinosa, *Velázquez: the complete paintings* (London, 1980); Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez: painter and courtier* (London, 1986); Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, *The Cambridge companion to Velázquez* (Cambridge, 2002); Dawson W. Carr, *Velázquez* (London, 2006); Leah Kharibian, *Velázquez* (London, 2006).
[26] 5 March 1843, *The Era*.
[27] John Iliff Wilson, *The history of Christ's Hospital…* (London, 1821), 98.

extremely healthy and clean'.[28] The hymns and lesson were copied out and presented to the Queen, who gave £10 to be shared amongst the scribes, and also requested a special holiday for the students.[29]

These gestures were evidently appreciated, as soon after the visit, permission was requested by the Treasurer for portraits of Victoria and Albert to be painted and hung in the Great Hall, paid for by the Governors of the school through subscription.[30] Victoria selected Sir Francis Grant for the task, from whom she had already commissioned multiple portraits, and who had considerable experience as a sporting painter. Victoria sat for Grant a total of nine times, and the picture was well advanced when his friend and fellow artist Sir Edwin Landseer noticed that Grant's planned composition was similar to that of an equestrian portrait of the Queen that he had underway.[31] Grant agreed to start over, and the mystified Victoria was repositioned.[32] Catherine Wills pointed out that while Grant's original painting borrowed heavily from van Dyck, his new plan (figure 77) was in the style of Velázquez.[33] She cited the 'Spanish Riding School pose', the stiffness, rich colouring, and general 'feeling of sobriety' as evidence of the connection.[34]

The pose to which Wills refers is the *levade*, taught by the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. Liedtke described it as follows: 'The horse bends his haunches deeply, in a manner more similar to sitting or squatting than to the standing movement of a rear. The body is held at no more than a 45-degree angle, and often less. The forelegs are tucked in close to the body […]. The head is held straight and close to the body. The rider's pose is similarly frontal, erect, and

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[28] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 9 March 1845 Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[29] Ken Mansell, *Christ's Hospital in the Victorian Era* (Middlesex, 2011), 186.
[30] Mansell, 186.
[31] Eleanor Stanley and Mrs Steuart Erskine (ed.), *Twenty years at court: from the correspondence of the Hon. Eleanor Stanley, maid of honour to her late majesty Queen Victoria 1842-1862* (London, 1916), 108.
[32] 'Sat to Grant all dressed, as he has changed the position of the horse, as well as that of my figure'. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 October 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014. The first painting was eventually finished and purchased by the Army and Navy Club, and will be discussed at length.
[33] Wills ,'The Life and Work…', 138-9.
[34] Ibid., 140.

motionless'.[35] A particularly challenging move, its performance required a well-trained horse and great skill on the part of the rider. Liedtke rightly points out the difficulty in telling the difference between a proper *levade* and a rear on command, a move performed by the military, in equestrian portraiture.[36] The difference between the lower and physically tighter *levade* and the higher, more free form controlled rear may aid in identifying the lines of artistic inspiration.

While there are decided similarities between Grant's portrait of Victoria and Velázquez's paintings of Philip IV (figure 78, 1635-6) and the Count-Duke of Olivares (figure 79, 1635), parallels can also be drawn with van Dyck's picture of Albert de Ligne, Prince of Arenberg and Barbançon (figure 80), as suggested by Oliver Millar.[37] Philip IV (1605-1665), king of Spain and Portugal, was a devoted patron of the arts who partnered with Diego Velázquez to create an iconic image of monarchy. Olivares, his prime minister and *General de la caballeria de España*, had introduced Velázquez to the king and commissioned his own portrait by him three times. Similarly non-royal but of great ambition, De Ligne (1600-1674) served in the Spanish army in Bohemia until 1629, becoming Captain-General of the Artillery and later governor of Namur, as well as a member of Archduchess Matilda's council of war.[38] Although neither Olivares nor de Ligne were monarchs, each belonged to a privileged and select set, and their respective positions in government and in the military gave them both considerable power and authority.

While there is no concrete evidence that Grant had seen Velázquez's portrait of Philip IV, he was certainly familiar with the sketch of Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivarez by Velázquez. Now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, it was formerly owned by the seventh Earl of Elgin, father-in-law to Grant's older brother John. After hearing of Grant's ambition to become a painter, Lord Elgin allowed Grant to copy masterpieces in

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[35] Liedtke, *The royal horse and rider*, 19.
[36] Ibid., 25.
[37] Millar, *Victorian Pictures*, 85.
[38] While no firm date has been assigned to the Arenberg portrait, Horst Vey has suggested that it was commissioned between 1629 and 1632, when van Dyck returned to England, after which the painting was finished by members of his studio. Horst Vey, 'Albert de Ligne, Prince of Arenberg and Barbançon, on horseback', in Barnes, 300.

his collection, even lending this Velázquez to him for that purpose.[39] It is reasonable to infer that this work in particular had a significant influence on Grant as he embarked on his career, having studied it carefully in his formative days.

Grant did not have such privileged access to the portrait of de Ligne by van Dyck, who was one of the artists Grant most admired.[40] It is possible, given Grant's interest in van Dyck's works, that he viewed the portrait of de Ligne at Holkham Hall in Norfolk, although we have no record of a visit there. It is more likely that Grant was familiar with the mezzotint published by John Boydell in London in 1783 (figure 81). The composition van Dyck used in his portrait of de Ligne had already featured in his painting of Gio, Paolo Balbi, which Susan J. Barnes argued was in turn inspired by earlier images. According to Barnes, these included the print of *Otho* from Stardanus's series of Roman emperors, a Leonardo school painting, Alciato's *Emblemata*, and Whitney's *Choise of emblems*, which emphasized the virtue of strong leadership.[41]

Although there are similarities in each of the compositions, the formation of the tree to the left, the positioning of the horse's legs, and the presence of soldiers in the background, suggest that Grant's painting of Victoria (figure 77) is most closely related to the van Dyck. Additionally, as Philip IV and Olivares's horses are quieter in attitude, with their forelegs tucked closer to their bodies and a low rise off the ground, they appear to be performing a proper *levade*. Philip is also facing forward, which is correct for this move, whereas Victoria and de Ligne turn toward the viewer, although Olivares does as well. As highly skilled horsemen, both Philip and Olivares would have been familiar with the *levade* and capable of performing it.[42] The movement of Victoria and the Duke of Arenberg's horses, on the other hand, is more energetic and dynamic, suggesting that they are actually mid-rear, controlled though it may be. While the paintings by Velázquez are significant in their embodiment of the traditions of royal equestrian portraiture, the fact that Victoria's depiction is more in keeping with the work of van Dyck makes it a

[39] Wills, *High Society*, 10.
[40] Ibid., 12.
[41] Susan J. Barnes, 'Gio, Paolo Balbi', in Barnes, 175.
[42] Liedtke, *The royal horse and rider*, 23.

more definite statement not only of her authority as queen, but also of her place in the long line of kings and queens who had reigned over England.

Wills also argued that the pendant portrait of Albert (figure 82) is 'a human image, whereas the portrait of Queen Victoria is predominantly a royal one', noting the contrasting colours and poses.[43] A 'human image' it may be, but one that is certainly reminiscent of van Dyck's representation of Charles I in the vein of a gentleman hunter (figure 74).[44] The positioning of the figures is nearly identical, although Albert reaches out with his left arm to hold the reins, and Charles I reaches out with his right arm, holding a walking stick. Both Charles and Albert turn their heads to gaze appraisingly at the viewer, although Charles does so with a bit more panache. Albert's horse is positioned near the centre of the painting, and the head is not lowered quite so far, but the same raised foreleg, curved neck, and submissive manner are present. One notable difference is that while Charles is dressed as a wealthy and elegant huntsman, Albert is in a Field Marshall's uniform. However, the red of Prince Albert's jacket matches the red of Charles's breeches, and the white of his breeches ties in with the silvery-white of Charles's doublet, further connecting the two figures visually.[45]

Grant's original plan to model Victoria's portrait on van Dyck's *Charles I with M. de St Antoine* underscores the resemblance between the picture of Albert and van Dyck's *Charles I at the hunt*, suggesting that Grant's intended relationship between the portrayals of Victoria and Albert was not so much sovereign and subject, as between two sovereigns. However, Grant's new design changed the dynamic between the two portraits, and the energy, movement, and skilled control in the revised picture make Victoria's image the more powerful of the two. The choice of Charles I as the anchoring point is

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[43] Wills, 'The Life and Work…', 140.

[44] Historical biographies of the monarchs of England, written in the mid-nineteenth century, tended to focus on Charles I's artistic patronage, and his interest in collecting masterpieces: Robinson, *Sketches in history*, 50; Boulton, 13. This is a role that Albert would take on, in helping build Victoria's collection and in commissioning works of his contemporaries: Kharibian, *Passionate patrons*.

[45] The sketch in the collection of the Royal Collection (figure 83) is quite similar to the finished product, although the horse is moved slightly and the background flipped and slightly reworked. In spite of these changes, it is evident that the original thought was carried through regardless of the changes to Victoria's picture.

curious, to say the least, as he was a rather problematic role model for the young queen. While nineteenth-century royal histories did not beat around the bush in their descriptions of Charles I's political behaviour, they were lenient in regards to his person. The Reverend Boulton stated that 'Charles's judgment was sound, his taste elegant, and general temper moderate, a sincere admirer of the fine arts,'[46] while Hallam wrote that 'Charles the First had much in his character very suitable to the times in which he lived, and to the spirit of the people he was to rule; a stern and serious deportment, a disinclination to all licentiousness, and a sense of religion that seemed more real than in his father'.[47] Nevertheless, while Charles I cannot be considered a successful king as far as government is concerned, he and van Dyck did manage to create a powerful image that continues to capture the imagination. Regardless of Grant's reasoning, the connections between the van Dycks and Grant's portraits of both Victoria and Albert are visible.

Given these royal influences, it is especially interesting to note that while Albert wears full uniform, Victoria is portrayed wearing a simple habit, albeit bedecked with royal and military accoutrements. At the Dundee Art Exhibition in 1877, a study of the Christ's Hospital portrait of Victoria (figure 84) was shown by permission of the Queen. The *Dundee Courier* noted that 'Her Majesty's dress and the accoutrements of the horse are painted from those worn on the occasion'.[48] According to Victoria's description of the review held on 11 June 1845, which the painting commemorates, she wore her uniform.[49] At the time, this would have been an adapted version of the Windsor uniform – a dark blue habit with red collar and cuffs (figure 85). However, the dark blue riding habit she wears in the portrait is noticeably lacking the red collar and cuffs, and when describing her sittings, she specifically mentioned being dressed in her habit.[50] Similar though the two garments were, the difference between them is significant. The exchange of her military uniform for a riding

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[46] Boulton, 13.
[47] Hallam, *The constitutional history of England from the accession of Henry VII to the death of George II*, i (London, 1832), 511.
[48] 29 September 1877, *Dundee Courier,* Dundee Fine Art Exhibition.
[49] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 11 June 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[50] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 15 October 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

habit removed a potent symbol of her position and replaced it with a garment that was common to women from the middle classes to the aristocracy.

Minor differences between the sketch in the Royal Collection (figure 84) and the finished product at Christ's Hospital (figure 77) further suggest the difficulty Victoria's artists faced in portraying a young queen regnant after generations of kings, and hint at the Queen's adherence to the feminine ideals prevalent at the time. The sketch is considerably more dynamic, as can be seen in the swinging of the aiguillettes off Victoria's shoulder, and in the attitude of the horse, whose ears are flatter and whose head is raised slightly higher in the sketch than in the painting. The tree at the left and the troops in the background have been altered, creating a calmer atmosphere in the final picture, and the expression on Victoria's face has also been changed from an evaluating gaze to a slight smile.

Furthermore, the fact that she is seated side saddle points to her womanhood. Although riding side saddle was customary for women at the time, there was a precedent for female queens, both regnant and consort, being portrayed riding astride. In 1762, Erichsen Vigilius portrayed Catherine II (1729-1796) (figure 86) seated astride and wearing the uniform of a Life Guards officer of the Semyonovsky regiment, which she had worn on 28 June 1762, when, along with a group of loyal soldiers, she overthrew her husband, Peter III.[51] Additionally, in 1783, Louis August Brun de Versoix painted Marie Antoinette (1755-1793) wearing men's hunting clothes while riding astride (figure 87). It is notable that Victoria never commissioned a portrait in this manner, privately or publicly. She was always seated aside, and the closest she came to menswear was an adapted form of a military uniform, the skirt of which was sometimes hidden on the far side of the horse. With her skirt mostly out of view, at a quick glance she appears to be riding astride, as a man would. Although it was not wholly unusual for a woman to be shown from this angle while riding side saddle, the opposite side was more common as it allowed for the display of the yards of material in the riding habit, the depiction of which required skill.

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[51] Philip Mansel, *Dressed to rule: royal and court costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (London, 2005), 25.

The question remains, why did Christ's Hospital commission portraits in this manner? Grant's pictures of Victoria and Albert were hung on each side of the impressively large mural by Antonio Verrio (c. 1639-1707) that commemorates the founding of the Royal Mathematical School in 1673, and were surrounded by portraits of Treasurers and Headmasters. The Queen and her Prince Consort are conspicuous in their equestrian splendour amidst so many academics and administrators. As there is no documentary evidence providing an explanation, it is unclear whether the choice was Victoria's, Grant's, or that of the school governors. Regardless of who made the decision, this vivid reminder of the Queen's visit and of her patronage highlighted her role within the military, and placed her directly in line with the male sovereigns who had preceded her and had adopted these same equestrian traditions for their official images.

The portrait originally planned for Christ's Hospital, until Landseer's objection halted the work, was picked up again and finished for the Army and Navy Club in 1850 (figure 88). Their records indicate that the portrait was originally rejected by Christ's Hospital because of the Governor's preference for a portrait of the Queen wearing her royal robes. It is unclear where or how this story originated, as the portrait that hangs at Christ's Hospital is also equestrian, and she does not wear robes. All other evidence suggests that it was rejected, not because of the queen's attire, but because of the similarity to Landseer's composition. The club history also states that the troops were added in specifically by their request. While they may not yet have been painted into the original when it was discarded, the troops are present in the version owned by Christ's Hospital, suggesting that the club's desire was in accordance with Grant's plan for the picture.[52]

The military theme of the portrait is, of course, appropriate considering the nature of the club. The Army and Navy Club was founded in 1837, the year of Victoria's accession, in response to the need for a new club accessible to young officers who were consistently being put onto a waiting list at the Senior

[52] Captain C. W. Firebrace, F. S. A., *The Army and Navy Club 1837-1933* (London, 1934), 58; Anthony Dixon, *The Army and Navy Club 1837-2008* (London, 2009), 32. These stories are also told in an article in the *Illustrated London News*, and may have originated there. 8 March 1851, *Illustrated London News*, Interior of the Army and Navy Club-house, Pall-Mall.

and Junior United Service Clubs.[53] Similarly to the portrait at Christ's Hospital, this painting was also paid for by subscription, by 869 of the Club's members. An engraving from the *ILN* in 1851 (figure 89) features Grant's portrait of Victoria, highlighting its prominent position in the hall, near the grand staircase. The picture was surrounded by a bust of the Victoria's cousin Prince George, Duke of Cambridge, who was swiftly climbing the ranks as an army officer, and a Gobelin tapestry that had been a gift of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, then President of the French Republic and an honorary member of the club.[54] The next paintings at the Club that were paid for by subscription were a portrait of its first president, the Duke of Wellington, by Henry William Pickersgill, R. A., and one of Lord Nelson that had been painted by Lemuel Francis Abbott.[55]

In the portrait owned by the Club (figure 88), she is dressed exactly as she was in the Christ's Hospital image, the horse is also identically caparisoned, and the backgrounds vary only slightly. The Queen and her horse, however, are posed entirely differently. She rides toward the right front of the picture, and the horse proceeds at what appears to be a relaxed walk. The horse's neck is gently curved, its ears point forward, and the reins droop slightly, suggesting a light contact between Victoria's hands and the horse's mouth. Victoria sits straight, her left hand holds the reins, her right arm rests at her side, and she gazes toward the distance to the left. Victoria still appears in control, and is not so at rest that she could not gather the reins and take off at a moment's notice. The overall feeling of the painting is one of relaxed majesty.

Wills argues that this portrait is 'very obviously' a reinterpretation of van Dyck's *Charles I on horseback with Monsieur de St Antoine* (1633; figure 90), which hung in the Queen's Presence Chamber and the Queen's Ballroom during Victoria's reign.[56] An uncredited copy was also produced between 1800 and 1840, and is in the Royal Collection.[57] There are, indeed, clear parallels. The

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[53] Firebrace, 6-8.
[54] *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1851.
[55] Firebrace, 249. These were both acquired in 1852.
[56] Wills, *High* Society, 139.
http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405322/charles-i-1600-1649-with-m-de-st-antoine, accessed 17 August 2013.
[57] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404255/charles-i-with-m-de-st-antoine, accessed 17 August 2013.

position of the horse's head has been changed, but otherwise their bodies are configured nearly identically. The figures, however, differ significantly. Not only does Victoria sit side saddle, but also the arrangement of her arms does not match, and she looks away from the viewer instead of down at them, as Charles does. Notably, Charles is wearing armour, an option not open to the Queen, and he carries the marshal's baton. James Lawson described this picture of Charles as 'unequivocally public', in which he shows himself as master of the art of war'.[58] Victoria, while asserting her position as commander-in-chief of the army, makes no such grand claims.

In fact, the composition of Victoria's portrait was equivocal enough about its public nature to be appropriated for the relatively private portrayal of Louisa Shirley (1843-1887), second wife of Neill Malcolm, XIII Laird of Poltalloch, in 1845 (figure 91). Malcolm's biography by Dugald Malcolm mentions the picture, stating that 'Her portrait by William [sic] Grant – closely modelled on his portrait of Queen Victoria […] is now at Duntroon'.[59] The horse she rides is identical to Victoria's, though fitted out in a saddle and bridle appropriate for a woman of her rank. The background is similar, although Mrs Malcolm's distant landscape is, of course, devoid of manoeuvring soldiers. As for the principal figure, Mrs Malcolm also wears a dark riding habit with white collar and cuffs, without the frills, ribbon, or aiguillettes. The veil on her hat mimics the feathers on Victoria's, and the difference in hairstyle is negligible. No records have been found that explain this extraordinary choice. It is possible that Mrs Malcolm viewed Victoria as a role model she wished to imitate, or that this was a composition she had seen and enjoyed. It is also possible that the choice was left to Grant, and he decided to copy a successful formula. Regardless, this example illustrates the transferable nature of Victoria's portrait by Grant. No matter what the reason it was painted in this manner, it was kept by the family and prominently displayed, suggesting its royal associations were appreciated more than they were found to be problematic.

Decades later, in 1865, Grant used a similar compositional device in his portrait of Henry Charles Fitzroy Somerset, the 8th Duke of Beaufort, and his

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[58] Lawson, 84.
[59] Dugald Malcolm, *Neil Malcolm XIII Laird of Poltalloch b. 1797 d. 1857, John Malcolm XIV Laird [of Poltalloch] b. 1805 d. 1893* (Argyll, 1992), 17. The portrait in question is no longer at Duntrune, but at the Stonefield Castle Hotel.

wife Georgiana, formerly Lady Curzon (figure 92). The Duke served as Master of the Horse from 1858 to 1859, and 1866 and 1868, and the couple appears in Victoria's journal repeatedly.[60] While Victoria's comments do not suggest that she knew them well, they establish a relationship that could have inspired the choice of Grant to paint the portrait, and may have influenced the composition. The Duchess of Beaufort rides a bay horse, again with similar markings as the one in the portrait of the Queen. Lady Georgiana's arms are in the same position as Victoria and Lady Louisa's, although switched, and she leans farther forward. While her riding habit and hat differ noticeably from the Queen's, fashions having changed in the intervening twenty years, the similarity of the background reinforces the likeness between the portraits. One clear difference is, of course, the addition of a male figure in the form of the Duke of Beaufort, and of the two hounds. Although this picture carries hints of the royal tradition due to its resemblance to Victoria's portrait, it is transformed into a statement of wealth and status, a record of the marriage of the Duke and Duchess, and of their proficiency at the hunt. The Duchess's portrayal is the feminine and non-royal counterpart to Victoria's, which highlights the ways in which the Queen was tied into the traditions of her predecessors.

In contrast to these images are Grant's equestrian portraits of a lady of the Manners family (figure 93), the Honourable Georgiana Child-Villiers (figure 94)**,** and Mrs Roller (figure 95). While the background in the painting of the lady of the Manners family is similar to that of Victoria and her imitators,[61] albeit flipped, the horse and rider burst across the scene mid-stride, in a manner quite unlike the examples by van Dyck and Velázquez. The portraits of Georgiana Child-Villiers and Mrs Roller differ significantly, offering examples of non-royal equestrian portraiture composed outside the traditions outlined by Liedtke.

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[60] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 April 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 October 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 22 November 2014.

[61] Grant was utilizing a long-standing tradition of background composition, in which a tree at the left framed the subject, and a drop off in the right allowed for a bit of landscape to be painted in, with a view that was personal to the sitter and appropriate for the portrait. He also used it for some of his single figure standing portraits.

What, then, of the work (figure 96) that Landseer was painting when Grant started his work on the Christ's Hospital portrait? The circumstances of its commission are now unknown, but Victoria recorded a number of sittings in her journal, including one '*on horseback*, in the *Library*'.[62] In it, Queen Victoria rides her grey horse Leopold, moving toward the right front of the canvas, so her skirts are on the far side of the horse. Wearing a riding habit with the same frilled white cuffs and collar as in the Grant portraits, she is portrayed as though taking one of her frequent rides through the grounds with her devoted dogs at her side.

The Garter sash across her chest is the only overt signifier of her royal role. Her well-known features and the presence of her dogs, recognizable from a print of their portrait by Landseer published in 1842,[63] are the only other hints at her exalted situation. She is perfectly in control as she rides through what is most likely Windsor Park, surveying with a dignified expression the land over which she reigns. A competent horsewoman, and therefore, according to Liedtke's model, a capable ruler, she is obeyed by her horse, adored by her dogs, and is likewise to be trusted, beloved, and followed by her subjects. Grant ensured that this painting, unfinished as it was, was displayed at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1873, and a hand-coloured engraving by Thomas Landseer, Edwin's brother, was produced (figure 97).

Landseer never did finish this portrait, and it remained in his studio until his death in 1873, at which point Victoria declined to purchase it.[64] Grant, who was close friends with Landseer, regarded the fact that it had remained unfinished 'a national disaster', and described it to the Queen as 'beautiful and interesting'.[65] It has been suggested that some of the anxiety Landseer faced, which prevented him from completing the picture, was due to a perceived inability to produce a painting that would be suitable to hang alongside the van

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[62] She sat on Leopold, an old, half-blind horse that was apparently trusted indoors, and 'who really behaved so well'. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 22 May 1838 (Lord Esher's typescript), original emphasis. Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[63] Landseer's 1838 painting of Hector and Dash with the greyhound Nero and the parrot Lory was engraved in 1842 and published by J. Bacon. Landseer's 1836 portrait of Dash was also published as a lithograph in the same year by Lowes Dickinson. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 152.
[64] Richard Ormond, *Edwin Landseer* (London, 1981), 148.
[65] Ibid., 147.

Dycks in the Queen's collection.[66] Regardless of the reason for his insecurity and hesitancy, Landseer was never satisfied with this picture and went on to repeatedly rework the composition, testing different costumes, backgrounds, and contexts.

In an oil sketch dated between 1837 and 1839 (figure 98), Victoria is dressed in a vaguely late medieval costume, with an elaborately decorated saddle and blanket. She rides Leopold past an idealized Windsor Castle, and Landseer has added a small group of Lancers following behind. Dash and Hector are again at her side, and are joined by a bloodhound. Victoria demurely gazes down at Dash, while her horse curves his neck to warily regard Hector the deerhound. She is, as Desmond Shawe-Taylor stated, 'a chatelaine of romance with her loyal retainers'.[67] In spite of its similarities to van Dyck's *Charles I with M. de St Antoine*, she is portrayed not as 'a swaggering King on a charger, but a modest, almost reluctant Queen'.[68]

In 1839, Landseer used the same pose for Victoria in his image of her reviewing the Life Guards with the Duke of Wellington (figure 99). She again rides Leopold, who is shown at nearly the same angle, although here his near front leg is noticeably straighter, and his head is held higher. Victoria's costume appears to be a combination of her Windsor uniform – which she usually wore at reviews at this time - identifiable by its red cuffs and collar, and her costume in figure 98, with its wide V-neck, full upper sleeves, and unusual hat. Unlike Grant's interpretations of these events, which place the troops in the distance, she is shown in the midst of the lines of soldiers, actively participating in the review.

A similar pose is seen yet again in an undated sketch of Victoria riding in the Highlands (figure 100). The horse is only pencilled in, and according to the title is a highland pony, not Leopold, but it is still shown at a similar angle, and with its near front leg raised, although here it is due to its being mid-step as it climbed a hill. Victoria's figure is the most finished part of the sketch, and yet her features are only indicated. She wears a blue riding habit with full upper

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[66] Catherine Casley, Colin Harrison and Jon Whitely (eds.), *The Ashmolean museum: complete illustrated catalogue of paintings* (Oxford, 2004), 126.
[67] Shawe-Taylor, *The conversation piece*, 170. The depiction of Victoria as a 'chatelaine' fits in with nineteenth-century medievalism. For further references, see footnotes 70, 71, and 287.
[68] Ibid.

sleeves, similar to the hybrid Windsor Uniform/costume she wore in figure 99. Again, she is seated side saddle with the skirts on the opposite side of the horse, her torso facing the viewer, her left hand holds the reins, and her right hand resting gently at her side.

Years later, in 1865, Landseer would again revisit this compositional idea in *Queen Victoria in Windsor Home Park* (figure 101).[69] Here, she rides a bay horse instead of the faithful Leopold, and horse and rider are turned slightly to the right. The poses of each, however, are nearly identical to the eternally unfinished work, figure 96. Her riding habit is now black velvet instead of blue, yet is cut along the same lines, and while her hat now has some height, it bears the same white feather. This image places her in the midst of the hunt, with a dead deer in the left front of the picture, and the master of the hunt behind her. According to Meriel Buxton, 'Even Queen Victoria was seen out with the Belvoir Hounds in the 1850s, though she may only have been to the meet'.[70] Victoria often mentioned going out to see the hunt in her journal, but did not say she participated.[71]

These various reworkings of Landseer's plan for his unfinished painting testify to the variety of contexts into which this formation of the Queen could be positioned without seeming out of place.[72] She is placed in a number of environments similar to those an aristocratic, or even bourgeois, woman would have inhabited, yet her equestrian portraits bear the stamp of royalty, underlining her place in the line of British monarchs and her position in regards to the military. Furthermore, while it had its roots in the traditional equestrian portrait, the adoption of the style by non-royal patrons increased the range of situations in which Victoria's particular form of monarchy could be situated, highlighting its adaptability.

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[69] This work was engraved and published by T. Atkinson in 1868 under the title *Windsor Forest*. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 139.
[70] Meriel Buxton, *Ladies of the chase* (London, 1987), 71.
[71] Grant's 1838 painting *Queen Victoria riding with the Quorn* shows the queen accompanying the hunters in a carriage, not actually riding with them on the hunt.
[72] Campbell Lennie suggested that the repetition of this theme was due to 'slight creative atrophy in the presence of her Majesty'. Lennie, 120. Regardless of the cause, the results are interesting given the number of variations on the theme, and the comparisons they invite.

Franz Xaver Winterhalter also painted a picture of Victoria reviewing her troops (figure 102). His version is a small image in watercolour and gouache, a simple sketch that was not meant for public consumption. Tracing this portrait, or any information on its creation, has proven difficult.[73] The image shows Victoria mounted on a grey horse, wearing a simple habit with the ribbon and star of the Garter, as she did in Grant's *Queen Victoria riding out* (figure 72), and she is followed by a group of soldiers who blend into the indistinct background. Victoria's horse is almost cartoon-like, perhaps because animal painting was not Winterhalter's strong suit.[74] Victoria's features are also simplistic, suggesting the quickness of the sketch.

The impetus for this picture, and its intended audience, are unknown, but it provides an interesting comparison to the authoritative portraits of the same event. However, in spite of her plain habit, this is a distinctly royal image. Victoria is calm and collected on her mount, riding capably and gracefully, and is firmly in her place ahead of a group of high-ranking officers. Unlike the other portraits discussed in this chapter, Victoria is presented in profile, seemingly unaware of or inattentive to the viewer. The graceful drape of her skirts, the gloss of her hair, and the prancing of the horse add a dash of femininity, without undermining her monarchical dignity.

Less distinctly 'feminine' but certainly more dashing is Count d'Orsay's portrait of Victoria on horseback (figure 103), which bears a resemblance to Winterhalter's image. Count d'Orsay (1801-1852) was the son of a general in Napoleon's army, and briefly served in the *garde du corps* of the restored Bourbon monarchy in 1821, resigning to travel with his patrons, Lord and Lady Blessington. A famous dandy, he incurred great debts and eventually returned to France to avoid his creditors, was appointed Louis Napoleon's director of the École des Beaux-Arts, and painted a number of portraits. He moved to London with Lady Blessington in 1830, where he hosted a fashionable salon and eventually made the acquaintance of the young Queen.[75]

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[73] Once in the collection of Camille Gronkowski, *Conservateur des musees de la Ville de Paris*, its previous ownership and its current whereabouts are unavailable.
[74] Research has not revealed any other equestrian portraits by Winterhalter.
[75] DNB, 'D'Orsay, Gédéon Gaspard Alfred de Grimaud': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7844, accessed 20 August 2013.

Victoria only mentioned d'Orsay in her journal a handful of times, and never with the greatest affection or respect. In October 1839, she wrote that Lord Melbourne 'said D'Orsay was an amusing man; a horrid fellow, I said'.[76] Only a few days later she blamed William Cowper's return to a 'very dissipated' lifestyle on d'Orsay's companionship, although Lord Melbourne thought that perhaps it was more due to Cowper's 'love of fashion'.[77] Sir Edwin Landseer, on the other hand, thought particularly highly of d'Orsay and his potential as an artist, opening letters to him with phrases such as, 'My dear Michael Angelo or Sir Joshua!' and 'My dear Brother Brush'.[78]

Around 1846, d'Orsay produced an equestrian portrait of Victoria (figure 103), which is now in the UK Government Art Collection, and on display at the British Embassy in Tunisia.[79] She wears a sumptuous red velvet habit, the skirts of which face the viewer and swish with the horse's movement, accompanied by the ribbon and star of the Garter, simple white gloves and collar, and a tall black hat with an ornament at front and a large white feather flowing over the top and down the side. Her head is surrounded by a halo of blue sky, calling attention to the Queen's recognizable features. Posed as she is, her torso almost facing the viewer, with both hands in front of her and looking behind her, it is difficult to believe that she is effectively directing the horse, or actually riding it at all. The reviewer for the *Cork Examiner* noted the discrepancy, writing that 'the attitude is so easy as to seem almost incompatible with the spirited action of the animal,' but on the whole finding it 'altogether dashing and highly attractive.' The reviewer specifically praised the likeness, stating that 'There can be no second opinion as to the truth of the portrait, and the characteristic expression of the lips, with all its sweetness, but unexaggerated, is most happily caught'.

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[76] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 October 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[77] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 October 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[78] Edwin Landseer to d'Orsay, n.d. (1839?), Harvard University Library, Houghton Library, MS 1272 (31-35) 35.; Edwin Landseer to d'Orsay, 1848, Harvard University Library, Houghton Library, MS 1272 (26-30) 28; as quoted by Nick Foulkes, *Last of the dandies: the scandalous life and escapades of Count d'Orsay* (London, 2003), 348.
[79] http://www.gac.culture.gov.uk/work.aspx?obj=24220. Retrieved 28 October 2014.

The reviewer also gave a detailed description of her clothing, suggesting that 'the costume is such as we might suppose her to adopt if going to a review on horseback'.[80] Although there are no troops in the background of this particular portrait, the reviewer imagines Victoria in her role as monarch and head of the armed forces, reviewing her troops. As her habit is red, it is clearly not her Windsor Uniform, and therefore not what she would have worn on such an occasion. Yet, the reviewer could not help but make the connection between an equestrian portrait of the queen and her military role. It wasn't until 1856 that Victoria appeared at a review in a uniform closer to that of the men around her: a redesign of the Field-Marshall's uniform. That year also marked the first time she was painted in what she wore to the review, as opposed to a habit accessorised by the Garter. Intriguingly, this was in a portrait that she commissioned, part of a set by Winterhalter's student Charles Éduoard Boutibonne (1816-1897).[81] Born in Hungary to French parents, he studied painting in Vienna and Paris, eventually training under Winterhalter. Unfortunately, Boutibonne has received almost no attention from academics, nor did his contemporaries leave much biographical information on him.[82] We do know that in 1856, Boutibonne was sent to England to copy two of Winterhalter's portraits of Victoria and Albert, possibly in the company of Winterhalter.[83] It was during his stay that he was commissioned by Victoria to paint four equestrian portraits –of herself (figure 104), the Prince Consort

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[80] *Cork Examiner*, 30 June 1847.

[81] Although Boutibonne is often given sole credit for these portraits, he collaborated with John Frederick Herring, Senior (1795-1865), a sporting artist who was responsible for painting the horses. Herring, who had worked as a coach driver before taking on painting as a full-time profession, was appointed animal painter to the Duchess of Kent in 1845. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 37. Oliver Beckett's account of Herring's life and career reveals the involvement of Herring's son and assistant Charles. According to a letter he wrote to a family friend: 'we have just put two horses into two pictures, one of the Emperor and one of the Empress which are to be published'. Oliver Beckett, *J. F. Herring & sons* (London, 1981), 85. Beckett's account is useful and thorough, although some of his dates are incorrect. For example, the Boutibonne portraits were signed and dated 1856, not 1858, and those of the Emperor and Empress were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1856, not 1855.

[82] Oliver Millar gives a relatively full account of his life, as it is known, quoting the Royal Archives and Boutibonne's widow as his only sources.

[83] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 36.

(figure 105), the Emperor Napoleon III (figure 106) and Empress Eugénie (figure 107).[84]

The portraits of Napoleon and Eugénie were originally hung in the Princesses' Corridor at Buckingham Palace until 1901, and were probably finished first, as they were displayed at the 1856 exhibition of the Royal Academy. Victoria and Albert's portraits, which they exchanged as part of Prince Albert's birthday celebrations in August 1856,[85] were not shown at the Royal Academy until the next year. Appropriately, considering their subject matter, they were placed in the Equerry in Waiting's room at Buckingham Palace.[86] While the four portraits were not exhibited at the Royal Academy in the same year, Victoria and Eugénie's portraits were displayed together at the Salon of 1857. The striking similarity of the composition and size of all four of these portraits, as well as the fact that they were commissioned and painted together, affords a rare opportunity for fruitful comparison.

One of the first questions raised about these pictures must be in regards to the circumstances under which they were commissioned. France had recently proved itself a faithful ally to Britain in the Crimean War, and it has been suggested that this set of portraits is in commemoration of that fact.[87] While this is quite possibly the case, it is unlikely that Victoria would have commissioned them had it not been for the Imperial visit in April of 1855, and Victoria and Albert's return visit to Paris in August of that year. It was through these visits that the two couples gained a mutual respect for each other, and built a lasting friendship.

Before Napoleon and Eugénie's visit to England, Victoria had been hesitant in regard to the Emperor.[88] Upon meeting him in person, however, she

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[84] The queen's portrait cost £157 10s, and that of the Prince may have cost £105, as Boutibonne's records indicate a total payment of £262 10s. Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 37. This is supported by the fact that he was paid £262 10s for the portraits of Eugénie and Napoleon as well. Alison McQueen, *Empress Eugenie and the arts: politics and visual culture in the nineteenth century* (Surrey, 2011), 141, footnote 83. See further discussion of Empress Eugénie in chapters two (93-94), four (164-165), and seven (255-259).
[85] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 26 August 1856 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[86] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 37.
[87] McQueen, *Empress Eugénie*, 103.
[88] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 2 December 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

was quickly won over by his charm, noting that 'Nothing can be more civil, amiable or well bred, than the Emperor's manner, - so full of tact'.[89] He may have exuded considerable charisma, but was not known for having a prepossessing appearance, being only about 1.66 metres tall.[90] However, Victoria noted that 'he rides extremely well & looks well on horseback, as he sits high',[91] qualities that were accentuated in the Boutibonne portrait. Victoria was at least as smitten by his wife, the Empress Eugénie, of whom she wrote: 'Her manner is the most perfect thing I ever saw, so gentle, graceful & kind, & so modest & retiring'.[92] Contemporary British newspapers not only praised Eugénie's good looks, but her kindliness, generosity, and morality as well.[93]

Victoria's affection for the Emperor and Empress, as well as the political alliance between their two countries, led to the creation of these portraits. Unlike the pictures by Grant, which had been commissioned by outside organizations, Victoria ordered this set herself, and presumably had more input on the composition. Interestingly, she was still portrayed in pseudo-military garb, and with military exercises going on in the background. The question remains as to why Victoria commissioned these in an equestrian format, largely military-themed, as opposed to the traditional state portrait, or a more informal pose. Unfortunately, only speculation is possible on this point. A clue may be found in a reference made in Victoria's journal during the Imperial visit to England. She wrote, 'I mentioned the prints of the Empress, in her Spanish

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[89] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 2 December 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[90] David Baguley, *Napoleon III and his regime: an extravaganza* (Baton Rouge, 2000), 123. See also: Roger Price, *Napoleon III and the Second Empire* (London, 1997); Raphaël Lahlou, *Napoléon III ou l'obstination couronnée* (Paris, 2007); and Lucian Boia, *Napoléon III: le mal-aimé* (Paris, 2008).
[91] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 April 1855 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014. Both Charles I and Victoria were also famously small-statured, and appeared to good effect on horseback.
[92] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 April 1855 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[93] For examples of their effusions on her character, see: *Morning Post*, 17 April 1855, 'France'; *Berkshire Chronicle*, 28 April 1855, 'The Empress Eugenie'; and *Morning Chronicle*, 23 April 1855, 'The Empress of the French'. For further reading, see Jean Autin, *L'impératrice Eugénie, ou, L'empire d'une femme* (Paris, 1990); Desmond Seward, *Eugénie: the empress and her empire* (Stroud, 2004); and Alison McQueen, 'Women and social innovation during the Second Empire: Empress Eugénie's patronage of the Fondation Eugène Napoléon', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 66, 2 (2007), 176-193.

dress, on horseback, upon which she said, colouring, that one had been done by the Pce de Joinville!'[94] (figure 108). Victoria's admiration for this equestrian portrait of the Empress, and her appreciation of those that had already been painted of her and Albert, may have inspired this choice.

In Boutibonne's painting (figure 104), Victoria sits side saddle, and as the horse is facing to the right, her skirts fall on the opposite side of the horse from the viewer. The hanging lengths of the dark fabric blend in with the bush behind her, and the horse's shadow, again removing one of the more prominent markers of her femininity. Nor is she wearing the typical riding habit or her Windsor uniform, but one based on that of a Field-Marshal (figure 109).[95] When Victoria came to the throne, no military uniforms existed for women, and something suitable had to be designed for her to wear to review the troops. In 1838, Victoria lamented her plight in her journal. She wrote, 'I told Lord M. that in returning from the Review, I said jokingly to Uncle, "It's a pity I cannot wear a Uniform", and he replied that I must be a Prince to do that, and added quite seriously, "It's a great pity that you are not a Prince". This made Lord Melbourne laugh much, and he said: "You didn't like that?" I replied: "I said I thought so too"'.[96] Initially, the problem of what to wear while reviewing the troops was solved by the adaptation of the Windsor uniform. By June of 1856, a version of the Field-Marshal's uniform had been devised for her, and this is what she wears in the Boutibonne portrait (figure 104).[97]

In the picture she rides a grey charger that stands still, but alert, while Victoria sits calmly, regarding the viewer. Her pale horse and red and gold clad figure stand out against the grey, cloudy sky, concentrating the viewer's attention on her figure. Three officers are visible in the left of the painting, but nearly blend in with the surrounding landscape; and in the distance to the right are troops performing an exercise, possibly a mock attack or a salute.[98] In spite of her uniform and the presence of officers and soldiers, this portrait of Victoria

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[94] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 April 1855 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[95] Staniland, *In royal fashion*, 151. The jacket and hat remain in the Royal Collection.
[96] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 September 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[97] 'I, for the 1rst time wearing a scarlet tunic': RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 June 1856 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[98] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 36.

has more in common with Grant's portrait of Mrs Roller (figure 95) than with van Dyck's *Charles I* or Velázquez's *Philip IV*.

Boutibonne's picture of Prince Albert (figure 105), on the other hand, is considerably more in line with the traditional royal equestrian portrait. Prince Albert wore the uniform of a Field-Marshal, a rank to which he had been appointed two days before his wedding in 1840, which in his case is adorned with the stars of the Order of the Garter and of the Bath. He also calmly gazes at the viewer, but, contrary to Victoria, is painted on a shiny black steed that is in the midst of what appears to be a controlled rear. A dust cloud has been kicked up behind the horse, heightening the sense of action, and in the distance at the level of its forelegs can be seen troops, which Millar identifies as a detachment of Household Cavalry. Napoleon III's portrait (figure 106) is quite similar to Albert's in composition. He, too, faces left and rides a horse that is in the midst of rearing, and his General's uniform is similarly bedecked, although in his case by the Legion of honour and the Médaille Militaire. The clouds in the background, the dust cloud kicked up by the horse, and the view in the distance on the left are all akin to Albert's portrait, although there is a distinct lack of troops in this image.

Boutibonne's painting of Eugénie (figure 107) stands out as the most distinctive of the four. While, like Victoria, she is portrayed riding side saddle on a grey horse that is standing still, her mount appears to be resting quietly, looking toward the viewer. Eugénie holds her hat and crop in her left hand, and with her right she strokes the horse's neck, leaving it a mystery as to who is holding the slackened reins, and suggesting that she is not actually in control. Also unlike the others, Eugénie and her horse stand in front of shrubbery and the stone gate leading to Saint-Cloud, which places Eugénie in a relatively domestic setting as compared to the military fields.[99] The slight smile on her face also reinforces the softer nature of this portrayal.

Further separating her from the other three is the lilac-grey riding habit she wears. Unlike Victoria, Eugénie was widely recognized as a leader of fashion. She helped establish the career of Charles Frederick Worth, the first couturier in the modern sense, and the press consistently took careful note of her various ensembles. In spite of this, her servant Madame Carette insisted

[99] McQueen, *Empress Eugénie*, 103.

that 'Whether at the Tuileries or any other residence, the Empress was always dressed plainly, much more so than is the case in our days with very many young women in a far less exalted station'.[100] Her riding habit in this portrait by Boutibonne is a fine example of the simple elegance of which Madame Carette spoke. Eugénie's capacious skirts are also presented to the viewer, emphasizing her femininity and her elegance.

However pleased Victoria was by the outcome,[101] the critics who saw these portraits at the Royal Academy exhibitions in 1856 and 1858 viewed them as being mediocre at best. According to the reviewer from the *London Standard*, 'The likenesses are undeniably correct, and the whole arrangement is tasteful. It may, however, be objected that the expression of her Majesty is rather too inanimate, and the Prince's complexion somewhat wanting in colour'.[102] The reviewer at the *London Daily News* was less kind, writing that '[…] the likenesses are bad, the colour dirty and untrue to nature, the horses theatrical in attitude and out of drawing; the whole reminding us of those extravagant French lithographs which are to be found in such profusion in the print-shops of Paris'.[103] The portraits of the Emperor and the Empress met with greater praise in the British press, with the *Art Journal* declaring of Napoleon's portrait that, 'The resemblance is most perfect', and of Eugénie's that, 'The resemblance is at once recognisable, and throughout, the composition is brought forward with the most scrupulous nicety'.[104] It is notable that none of their complaints touch the equestrian theme of the portraits, dwelling instead on likeness and technical achievement, or lack thereof.

Victoria's appearance in the Boutibonne portrait is echoed in a painting by George Housman Thomas (1824-1868), who painted Victoria and Albert reviewing the troops at Aldershot (figure 110). Thomas, a painter and wood engraver, benefited from Queen Victoria's patronage, and also enjoyed a long-

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[100] Madame Carette, 171.
[101] 'Dearest Albert gave me a pretty picture of himself, in uniform, on horseback, by Boutibonne & Herring'. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 26 August 1856 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[102] *London Standard*, 2 May 1857, 'Royal Academy'.
[103] *London Daily News*, 21 May 1857, 'Fine Arts'.
[104] *Art Journal*, 1 June 1856, 'The Royal Academy', 165.

standing working relationship with the *Illustrated London News*.[105] While Thomas depicted a number of women on horseback in his many book illustrations, this portrait stands out as one of the few, if not the only, time he did so on canvas. While the date of the event represented is uncertain, Millar has identified the review of 9 July 1859 as the most likely, due to their uniforms, the other figures riding with the royal couple, and the presence of the Riflemen in the distance.[106] This work was also commissioned by the Queen, and was hung in the corridor at Windsor, being removed briefly to be shown in the 1866 Royal Academy Exhibition.[107]

In this painting Victoria again wears her adapted Field Marshal's uniform, along with a General's sash and a General's plume in her hat. The hat was based on a style that had become fashionable, and one that evidently became one of Victoria's favourites.[108] A watercolour sketch by Thomas (figure 111) places Victoria and Albert closer to the viewer, and more centrally in the composition. Also, whereas Victoria and Albert ride side by side in the finished version, Victoria is decidedly ahead of Albert in the sketch, and is the focal point of the painting. It also appears as though Albert is wearing a different uniform, both in style and colour, as it does not match Victoria's tonally. In the sketch, the horses proceed from the right to the left, which means that Victoria's skirt side is toward the viewer, whereas in the finished version her skirts are hidden between her horse and Albert's, obscuring one of the main visual markers of gender difference between her and her male companions. The reasons for these changes are unknown, but as Victoria commissioned this painting, it is entirely possible that she was involved in the alterations.

Victoria's pride in her role as Commander-in-chief of the British Armed Forces led her to actively maintain the connection between the Crown and the military, as is evidenced by the paintings of her reviewing her troops. Her equestrian portraits further served the purpose of establishing continuity with past monarchs through the correlation between Victoria's portraits and the

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[105] Little has been written about Thomas since his death, although his brother William wrote a biographical extract that was included in a collection of his engravings. George Housman Thomas, *In memoriam, Geo. H. Thomas, artist: a collection of engravings from his drawings on wood* (London, 1869).
[106] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 258.
[107] Ibid., 258.
[108] Staniland, *In royal fashion*, 152.

works of Velazquez and van Dyck's portrayals, particularly his paintings of Charles I. However, these juxtapositions highlight the adjustments made to accommodate her gender.

Unable to wear armour or an official uniform, the equestrian portraits of Victoria often portrayed the Queen in a riding habit, a piece of clothing that, while originally modelled after menswear, was a distinct proclamation of her femininity and drew attention to the fact that she could not lead her troops into battle. It was not until the end of the period of this study that, as in Thomas's painting of the review at Aldershot, Victoria reached some level of sartorial equality. Her modified Field Marshall's uniform and hidden skirts allowing her to blend in with the men who surround her, although this is somewhat tempered by Albert's central positioning.

The simple fact of Victoria's consistently riding aside also separated her from her male predecessors, and the precedent of some female monarchs having been portrayed riding astride suggests that this was a conscious choice, although it was most likely influenced by the ideologies surrounding proper female behaviour in the mid-nineteenth century. In spite of this, the frequent turn of the horse that obscured her skirts from the viewer somewhat lessened the gendered impact of the side saddle. Especially in cases in which she wore a modified uniform, she was able to appear similar to her male counterparts without relinquishing her adherence to gender norms, inhabiting a middle ground as was particularly evident in the Boutibonne portraits.

The Queen's equestrian portraits also highlighted the malleability of her image, as she was posed in the same way but dropped into a variety of situations, ranging from official to fantastical to quotidian, as in Landseer's many interpretations of his original unfinished work. Her image also proved readily adaptable, as is illustrated by Grant's repurposing of her representation for multiple non-royal patrons, suggesting that her depiction had much in common with that of her aristocratic and bourgeois subjects.

While Victoria's depiction on horseback bore the marks of the traditions of royal equestrian portraiture, a subgenre predominantly associated with kingship and masculinity, they were tempered by her adherence to the contemporary cultural expectations of her gender, and were influenced by non-royal representational conventions. The Queen's family portraits, on the other

hand, lean more strongly toward the bourgeois, while incorporating the royal. These will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

A mother and a queen: Victoria's family portraits

The 1839 edition of *Heath's Book of Beauty*, a compilation of engravings of society beauties and literary titbits, included a poem inspired by the portrait of the Duchess of Sutherland and written by the Countess of Blessington, who also edited the volume.[1] The first and last stanzas read as follows:

'A MOTHER's love! – What thought to buoyant youth,
What chastening gravity to mirth it lendeth!
What angel charity, what seraph truth,
With Woman's charms of lip and eye it blendeth!
[…]
Thou joy and sunshine of a happy home!
Favourite of Nature, every gift possessing!
Who can within thy gentle influence come,
Without desiring thee each earthly blessing?'[2]

Victoria herself married and became a mother the next year, and in the 1842 edition, her portrait graced the frontispiece. Miss Theodosia Garrow wrote some words on this image, ending with 'Thou has steeped thine energies in Natures (sic) font of love: Thou dost fulfil the aim of woman's being/ And on thy land, thy hearth, thy love, shall rest/A tenfold blessing; - yea, thou shalt be blest!'[3]

As Kate Retford has noted, the tone of texts on motherhood had begun to alter in the eighteenth century, laying emphasis on 'the delights of maternal duties'.[4] This increasing sentimentality laid the groundwork for the ideals that found wide purchase in the nineteenth century, by which time the language in the poems published in *Heath's Book of Beauty* had become commonplace.

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[1] The Duchess of Sutherland repeatedly served as Victoria's Mistress of the Robes: 1837-1841, 1846-1852, 1853-1856, 1850-1861.
[2] Blessington, *Heath's book of beauty, 1839*, 1-2.
[3] The Countess of Blessington (ed.), *Heath's book of beauty, 1842, with beautifully finished engravings, from drawings by the first artists*, (London, 1842), 2.
[4] Retford, 86-7.

Although often portrayed in its ideal nuclear unit – a married mother and father with multiple children – defining the term 'family' is a complicated affair. As Leonore Davidoff et al have explained, 'the constituents of home and family […] were never identical for different strata in different parts of the country', and they go on to state that 'the meanings and values attached to family even within the same group could be varied and often contradictory'.[5]

Family groups frequently included multiple generations and contained relatives who were not part of the nuclear unit, as well as friends and dependants who had no biological connection to the head of the house. Conversely, blood ties did not necessarily translate to emotional closeness, or to shared living arrangements. However, Michael Anderson has noted a general shift in the definition of the word in contemporary dictionaries, with an emphasis being placed on the conjugal couple and children beginning in the late eighteenth century.[6] Raymond Williams expands on this, placing the dominance of the 'bourgeois family' in the mid-nineteenth century and linking it to early capitalist production through the differentiation between a man's work and his family, which is supported by that work.[7] This particular version of familial relationships was indeed the province of the bourgeoisie, and Leonore Davidoff has commented on the 'trickle-up effect' that led the aristocracy and royalty to form their families after this model.[8]

Identifying a turning point between the larger kinship group of the early eighteenth century and the nuclear family of the mid-nineteenth century is made difficult by uneven change and the wide range of lived experience. However, it has often been tied to the period commonly referred to as the Industrial Revolution, located by Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson as between the 1780s and 1840s.[9] Rosemary Bradford Ruether has argued that the removal of

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[5] Leonore Davidoff et al, *The family story: blood, contract and intimacy 1830-1960* (London, 1999), 101. See also Naomi Tadmor, *Family and friends in eighteenth-century England: household, kinship, and patronage* (Cambridge, 2000).
[6] Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the history of the western family, 1500-1914* (Cambridge, 1980), 27.
[7] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society* (Abingdon, 2011), 110-111.
[8] Davidoff et al, *The Family Story*, 18.
[9] Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, 'Rehabilitating the Industrial Revolution', *The economic history review*, 45, 1 (1992), 24-50. The concept of the Industrial

productive, educational, health, and religious activities from the home during this period resulted in an intensification of the ideology about the family, and its role in social wellbeing.[10]

In their seminal if controversial work *Family Fortunes*, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall contended that this trend resulted in middle-class men and women being drawn into 'separate spheres', with the men earning their livings and fulfilling their duties in the 'public' sector, while women inhabited the 'private' domain of the home, with their primary responsibility being care of the family. While many historians, such as Amanda Vickery, have found fault with their argument,[11] Lucy Delap et al have suggested that, instead of throwing out the idea all at once, scholars approach it piecemeal. By looking at the categories set up by Davidoff and Hall, such as the domestic ideology, the sexual division of labour, and the separation of home and work, scholars will be guided to further research that will result in a richer, and more useful, understanding of the family, and of gender and class relations in this period.[12] While there is certainly much to be adjusted, rethought, and expanded upon, Davidoff and Hall's work, and the many responses it has prompted, is particularly thought provoking in relation to Queen Victoria's situation, and her frequent pictorial representation not just as monarch, but as matriarch of a large and loving family.

In spite of its long and varied history, blood related or otherwise, the family was not illustrated as such in portraiture until the end of the fifteenth century, when husbands and wives were depicted together as donors on the outer panels of altarpieces.[13] It took longer for the children to appear alongside

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Revolution has provoked considerable debate among historians, with Berg and Hudson offering convincing arguments in its favor. See also M. Fores, 'The myth of a British Industrial Revolution', *History*, 66 (1981), 181-198; and J. Mokyr, *The economics of the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1985).

[10] Rosemary Bradford Ruether, *Christianity and the making of the modern family* (Boston, 2000), 83.

[11] Vickery, 'Golden age to separate spheres'. For an insightful counter to their discussion of the middle class, see Dror Wahrman, '"Middle-class" domesticity goes public: gender, class, and politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria', *Journal of British studies*, 32, 4 (1993), 396-432.

[12] Lucy Delap et al (eds.), *The politics of domestic authority in Britain since 1800* (Basinstoke, 2009), 5.

[13] Roy Strong and Brian Allen, *The British portrait 1660-1960* (Woodbridge, 1991), 30.

their parents, and some have attempted to explain the beginnings of family portraiture as resulting from the advent of the companionate family in the eighteenth century.[14] However, this approach is simplistic at best, and highly problematic in the context of royal families in particular. As Simon Schama has pointed out, 'the nineteenth-century royal families were, in all their essentials, the very opposite of the image that they projected'.[15] He cited the emphasis on patriarchal dynasticism, and the continued tradition of arranged marriage, of which Victoria and Albert's relationship was an unusually happy example.[16]

Victoria was the first female British sovereign to 'combine in effect the needs of the nursery with the cares of office',[17] as Mary I, Elizabeth I, and Mary II were childless, and all of Anne's children died before she acceded to the throne. Albert, Victoria's consort, was 'tireless in keeping royalty before the country and fastidious in presenting the Royal Family as paragons of domestic virtue'.[18] Victoria and Albert's emphasis on family combined well with their patronage of the arts. Oliver Millar, former Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, noted that, 'early in her reign the Queen began to arrange her family portraits in her rooms at Buckingham Palace'.[19] As Schama has stated, 'it came to be important that the institution should be seen to be the family of families, at once dynastic and domestic, remote and accessible, magical and mundane'.[20]

Historians have examined the political element of this complicated image, and Margaret Homans has suggested that Victoria and Albert managed to 'publicize the monarchy as middle-class and its female identity as unthreateningly subjugated and yet somehow still reassuringly sovereign',[21] which was especially important as the British monarchy was refiguring into a constitutional state. As Paul Binski has noted, 'art does not illustrate but constitutes, or *re*-presents, social conditions, and is one agent in the formation

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[14] Lawrence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England 1500-1800* (London, 1977), chapter 8, 325-405.
[15] Simon Schama, 'The domestication of majesty: royal family portraiture, 1500-1850', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17, 1 (1986), 157-8.
[16] Schama, 158.
[17] Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian womanhood in English art* (Rutherford, 1987), 23.
[18] Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown: Public discussion of the British monarchy in the reign of Queen Victoria* (Aldershot, 1997), 27.
[19] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, xxxviii.
[20] Schama, 183.
[21] Homans, 'To the Queen's private apartments', 14.

of those conditions in the first place.'[22] Homans saw the feminized and domestic posturing of the royal family as occurring not only in the images commissioned by the Queen, but in political cartoons and other works created by her subjects, suggesting that her image was the result of 'reciprocal shaping'.[23]

Literary critic Ira B. Nadel has argued that, prior to Victoria and Albert, 'painting had not consciously reflected the ideals of the crown', but that their portraits 'reflected the domestic bliss they projected on to the nation', even as the royal couple espoused the ideals of the middle-class, and commissioned artwork that portrayed them as appropriately domesticated. The Queen and Prince Consort became 'ideal parents with an ideal family', and 'stood to be emulated by their subjects'.[24] Royal Collection curator Jennifer Scott has argued that 'the royal portraiture of Queen Victoria was commissioned and constructed to present her as a role model for women, a strong matriarch who commanded the respect of her people'.[25] The precise nature of Victoria's agency in this process will never be settled, but the power of the dual image, of the sovereign queen who was also a dutiful and attentive wife and mother, remains. Sir Edwin Landseer, Sir Francis Grant, and Franz Xaver Winterhalter each grappled with this concept, and in their depictions of the Queen blended these aspects of her persona, resulting in nuanced portraits that negotiated the interplay between her sovereign and domestic roles.

Landseer's *Windsor Castle in modern times* (figure 112, 1840-3), which was engraved by Thomas Lewis Atkinson and published by Henry Graves & Co in 1851 (figure 113),[26] was one of the better-known examples of his work for Victoria. Desmond Shaw-Taylor has suggested that Landseer's picture was planned to act as a sequel to Grant's *Queen Victoria riding out* (1840), as it is approximately the same size and the two paintings were hung as a pair.[27]

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[22] Paul Binski, 'Hierarchies and orders in English royal images of power' in Jeffrey Denton (ed.), *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (London, 1999), 75, original emphasis.
[23] Homans, 'To the Queen's private apartments', 14.
[24] Nadel, 175-6.
[25] Scott, *The royal portrait*, 156.
[26] The *Newcastle Journal* advertised engravings of both *Windsor Castle in modern times* and *The royal family in 1846* in 1850: *Newcastle Journal*, 18 May 1850.
[27] Shawe-Taylor, *The conversation piece*, 174.

Michael Levey seconded this idea as he argued that in these two images, 'the queen has gone from Amazonian protagonist to demure, admiring wife, subject to Albert, the hero of the composition'.[28] Susan P. Casteras agreed with Levey's take on the power structure within Landseer's image, stating that 'the queen's love for Albert amounted almost to hero worship, and here the artist telescopes the passionate side of her youth with her wifely submissiveness'.[29]

The central positioning of Albert, who is seated while Victoria stands, and the fact that he is the object of her affectionate gaze as well as that of three dogs, points to his importance. The indoor space is filled with the trophies of Albert's masculine outdoor pursuit - the dead birds that are strewn about the room - while he lounges comfortably in their midst, still wearing his hunting boots. Margaret Homans, however, has argued that the posing was nuanced. She suggested that this painting is as much about Victoria's 'sovereignty over a feminized Albert and over an adoring nation' as it is about her 'domestic deference' toward him.[30] Victoria stands, and is the end point of the line that begins with the Princess Royal, continues up to their beloved dog Dandy Dinmont and then Albert before culminating with the top of Victoria's head. Furthermore, her white gown draws the eye, and is set off by the green curtain behind her.[31]

A study for this painting shows a composition almost completely different to the one Landseer carried out (figure 115), the only constant being the position of the Queen's figure. In an unfinished letter to Lady Abercorn, Landseer hints at the difficulty he was having, and suggests that Victoria may have been directing the changes. He wrote, 'I am still occupied at the Palace. Her Majesty is all whim and fancy, - the Prince and the Queen!'.[32] In the study, Victoria and Albert stand together, admiring a lightly sketched parrot on a

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[28] Levey, 205.
[29] Casteras, 'The wise child', 22.
[30] Homans, *Royal Representations*, 29.
[31] Desmond Shawe-Taylor avers that this gown is a 'quote' from Ter Borch's *The Letter* (figure 114, c. 1665), which was hanging in the Pictures Gallery at Buckingham Palace while Landseer was working on the painting. Shawe-Taylor, *The conversation piece*, 176. The tendency of the Queen's artists to refer to Old Masters, particularly those in the Royal Collection, while filling commissions for the queen is well established.
[32] Sir Edwin Landseer to Lady Abercorn, early 1840s; National Art Library: MSL/1962/1316/192, original emphasis.

stand. The height difference between the two, already modified by the artist, is further lessened by the angle of Albert's body as he leans in to the Queen. Scott has suggested that this arrangement may have been rejected because Albert 'towering over his wife' implied an unsuitable balance of power in their relationship. The final version allowed the queen 'a commanding position over him, tempered by the deference of her attitude'.[33]

The disagreements between scholars as to the interpretation of the image – whether the Queen or Albert is in the more prominent position, and the intention behind such placement – highlight the delicate balance that needed to be struck between Victoria's two main roles, to one commentator underscoring her feminine submission while to another, at the same time, emphasising her majesty. Further examination of other works by Landseer, as well as those of Grant and Winterhalter, will help us discover whether this mixture was consistent throughout her imagery, and if so, how that was accomplished.

Sir Edwin Landseer's 1842 portrait of the Queen with the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales (figure 116) was commissioned by Victoria as a gift to Albert, given to him on her birthday that May. Originally hung in the Duchess of Kent's sitting room at Osborne, the portrait has an intimate feeling, in part due to its relatively small size (61.3 x 50.8 centimetres), but also because the viewer appears to be interrupting a private moment between the young Queen and her two eldest children. The seated Victoria holds the infant Prince of Wales on her lap, gently supporting him with her left arm. She holds up her right forefinger, gesturing to the Princess Royal to be quiet, and not to wake the sleeping baby. Victoria is dressed fashionably, yet simply, and without markers of her royal status. She wears a dark velvet gown with a wide lace flounce on the skirt, a lace bertha, and a bow at centre front.[34] The lace would have been particularly valuable, especially given the size of the flounce on her skirt, reminding some viewers of her considerable wealth. Victoria also wears a necklace, and the Princess Royal holds the pendant in her hands, drawing the viewer's attention to it.

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[33] Scott, *The royal portrait*, 155.

[34] The Duchess of Cleveland was portrayed by Alfred Edward Chalon in 1846 wearing a similar dark velvet gown with a lace bertha and lace at the sleeves, although hers does not have a lace flounce on the skirt, and replaces the bow with what appears to be a large brooch. The similarity of the gowns suggests that the Duchess purposefully mimicked the queen's appearance.

The *Art Union* described the necklace worn by the queen as a locket containing a miniature of the Prince Consort.[35] However, it is more likely to have been the small heart-shaped pendant given to Victoria by her aunt Louise, Queen of the Belgians, which contained a lock of Albert's hair and can be seen in a number of the Queen's other portraits.[36] The confusion may have arisen from the presence of her bracelet, which is possibly the miniature of Albert painted by Magdalena Dalton (figure 117), which she wore often.[37] Both the bracelet and the pendant fill the space where the two figures overlap. The young princess is perched on the sofa next to Victoria, standing and leaning on her mother's shoulder, much as Victoria did to her own mother, the Duchess of Kent, in the 1821 portrait of the pair by Sir William Beechey (1753-1839) (figure 118). In Beechey's picture, the Duchess is in mourning for her husband, the Duke of Kent (1767-1820), and the infant Victoria holds his miniature, resting it on her mother's shoulder.

The Duke of Kent had been fifth in line for the throne and without legitimate issue when Princess Charlotte, only child of the Prince Regent, died in childbirth in 1817, along with her infant son. The death of George III's only legitimate grandchild left the succession on an insecure footing, and the King's unmarried sons were pressured into leaving their long-term mistresses to find suitable brides who could produce heirs. The Duke of Kent married Princess

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[35] *Art Union*, 1 December 1842, 'The Queen and her children', 283.
[36] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 November 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 6 November 2014. The locket can be seen in Landseer's 1839 portrait of the queen, given to Albert as an engagement present; two miniatures by Sir William Charles Ross, dated 1839 and 1841; Winterhalter's 1843 picture of Victoria reclining on a red couch, commissioned as a birthday gift for Albert; and Roger Thorburn's 1844 miniature.
[37] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 22 November 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 6 November 2014. The miniature is still in the Royal Collection, removed from its bracelet setting and significantly faded, most likely due to long periods of wear. Magdalena Dalton (1801-1874) was the sister of Sir William Charles Ross, miniature painter to the Queen. http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/4826/brooch-with-a-miniature-of-prince-albert-1819-1861, accessed 19 October 2013. Victoria owned a second miniature of Albert (by W Schmidt) set into a bracelet, this one with a lid. While the raised outline of the bracelet could be explained by this, according to the Royal Collection website it was originally mounted on a black velvet band until being replaced by a gold mesh band in 1866. Therefore, the bracelet in the portrait is unlikely to have been this second miniature. http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/422251/bracelet-with-a-miniature-of-prince-albert-and-a-photograph-of, accessed 19 October 2013.

Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (1786-1861), elder sister of Princess Charlotte's widower Leopold, later King of the Belgians, in 1818. Victoria was born the next year, and in 1820, the Duke succumbed to pneumonia. Left on her own, the Duchess struggled to raise Victoria in a manner suited to the eventual heir to the throne, and there is no mistaking this portrait as a declaration of the Princess's place in the line of succession. Prince Leopold owned this painting, suggesting that he commissioned the piece, which, considering his role in the orchestration of the match between his sister and the Duke, is highly likely.[38] William Skelton produced and published a line engraving of the picture in 1823 (figure 119), which would have facilitated its wider distribution into the populace, and highlights its public, declaratory nature.

The compositional similarities between the royal portraits by Beechey and Landseer – the mother, seated on a couch on which her young daughter stands, leaning against her shoulder – are further supported by the pictorial presence of the absent father in each painting. In the case of the Duke of Kent, his identity is clear in the miniature held by the infant Victoria, and is an overt statement of her status as third in line to the throne as his only heir. In Landseer's work, the gesture is much subtler and less powerful, as the Princess Royal is not set to inherit the throne, nor is the locket she holds as obvious a reference as the Duke's miniature. However, the reference in the *Art Union* to the locket holding Prince Albert's portrait, even if it was actually hair, suggests that there was some level of public awareness of the necklace's invocation of the Prince Consort. Regardless, Victoria knew what the pendant represented, and Landseer most likely did as well, and so when the painting was created, it is highly likely that there was a perceived connection between Beechey's and Landseer's royal portraits.

The similarities between these two paintings has previously been overlooked due to the more obvious link between Landseer's picture and Francis Cotes's 1767 portrait of Queen Charlotte with the infant Princess Royal (figure 120). The young queen holds her sleeping infant on her lap, with her left arm supporting her. She looks directly at the viewer, holding up her right forefinger in a request for silence. Charlotte is dressed in a fashionable silk

[38] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/407169/victoria-duchess-of-kent-1786-1861-with-princess-victoria-1819-1901, accessed 18 September 2013.

gown, with a triple strand of pearls around her neck and a blue cloth draped over one shoulder. Her hair is piled high, as was the fashion, but is worn in its natural shade as opposed to being powdered.[39] Behind her hangs a swathe of red-orange material, pulled up on one side to reveal a column, alerting the viewer to the high status of the sitters. The infant is dressed in white with blue ribbons, blending into the white of Charlotte's gown, and the blue of the cloth over the Queen's shoulder. While the formality of the setting and of Charlotte's attire belies the domestic import of the moment, the Queen's motherly regard for her child, and her lack of royal regalia, give the portrait a softened air.

A Royal Collection catalogue has drawn a comparison between Cotes's painting of the Queen and Princess Royal, and Annibale Carracci's *Il silenzio* (figure 121, c. 1599-1600), which George III had acquired the year before.[40] In Carracci's picture, the Madonna supports the sleeping Christ child with her left arm, holding her right forefinger to her lips while looking at the young John the Baptist, who is reaching out to touch the slumbering infant. Cotes's pastel was hung in George III's bedchamber at Buckingham House, and the Carracci in the adjoining Closet.[41] Although both the pastel and the oil versions of Cotes's work were at Windsor Castle when Landseer was painting Victoria and her children, it is unclear whether he was aware of the Carracci's influence on Cotes's picture. Had he been aware of this connection and chosen to reference Marian iconography, he would not have been the only one of Victoria's artists to do so.

In 1847, Robert Thorburn (1818-1885) painted a miniature of the Queen in a distinctly Raphaelesque manner (figure 122). Victoria, Princess Helena, and Prince Alfred stand in for the Madonna, Christ child, and John the Baptist respectively. Victoria wears a vaguely medieval dress swathed in Marian blue, and is crowned Queen of Heaven. Commissioned by Victoria as a gift to Prince Albert, it is likely that this was meant to reference Albert's fondness for Italian Renaissance painting, many fine examples of which he had added to the Royal Collection. In the same year, Thorburn painted the Duchess of Buccleuch with her daughter Victoria, the Queen's goddaughter, at Victoria's

[39] Queen Charlotte was a bit slow in joining the trend for powdered hair, and she and her daughters stopped using it in 1793, a bit earlier than was strictly fashionable. Louisa Parr and J. Stevens Cox (ed.), *Hair styles of the reign of George III* (Guernsey, 1986), n.p.
[40] Roberts (ed.), *George III & Queen Charlotte*, 28.
[41] Ibid.

request (figure 123). Charlotte Anne Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Duchess of Buccleuch and Queensbury (1811-1895), served as Victoria's mistress of the robes between 1841 and 1846 and was well liked by the Queen.[42] The infant Victoria, like the Princess Helena, is wrapped in a white cloth, and is held by her mother. The Duchess wears a brown wool bodice and skirt of indeterminate era, of a similar cut to that worn by the Queen. However, the Buccleuch image conspicuously lacks direct references to the Madonna and Child.

Although traditionally an image associated with Catholicism, Lynda Nead has argued that the Madonna and Child was a 'paradigm of maternal devotion and purity' that could be 'drained of its associations with Catholicism and taken up within English ruling-class culture as a sign of respectable, Protestant values'.[43] In her 1852 work on representations of the Madonna in the fine arts, art historian Anna Jameson commented that 'If the sanctification of simplicity, gentleness, maternal love, and heroic fortitude, were calculated to elevate the popular mind, the sanctification of mere glitter and ornament, embroidered robes, and jewelled crowns, must have tended to degrade it'.[44] The humbler the presentation and the greater the focus on the domestic ties between the Virgin and the Christ Child, the better suited it was to the Protestant eye. Although Jameson was specifically speaking of representations of the Virgin Mary, her comments can be extended from the Queen of Heaven to the Queen of Great Britain, providing commentary on the Anglican view of the proper female monarchical image.

In December 1842, the *Art Union* echoed Jameson's thoughts in its discussion of Landseer's portrait of Victoria with her two children (figure 116). The author's comments on the topic are worth quoting at length:

> […] it is a very charming picture, and cannot fail of popularity, for it speaks to the heart of every English mother. The Queen is seen without state – apart from the forms and ceremonies of royalty, if not from the pomps and vanities of life; there is nothing to denote the power; nothing of the splendour by which she is usually attended; she sits alone, with no

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[42] Victoria described the Duchess as 'such an agreeable, sensible, clever little person': RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 March 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 6 November 2014.
[43] Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1988).
[44] Anna Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna, as represented in the fine arts. Forming the third series of scared and legendary art. Illustrated by drawings, etc.* (London, 1852), xl.

> "peers" other than her children – no jewels but those which God has given her, and of which she looks prouder than of the sceptre that sways her kingdom. She is, in fact, represented as an English lady, with a son and daughter, fair and healthy, and with the promise of long life, bravery, and virtue, strongly expressed in countenances indicative of intelligence and goodness. There are thousands of English homes to which this simple guise will be infinitely more acceptable than the robes, "Coronation" and "Dalmatic" – who will prefer the mother in her nursery-chair to the Queen seated on her throne, and love her all the better as the happy companion of her offspring children than as heading a council of Ministers.[45]

The author's point, that a large number if not a majority of Victoria's subjects would prefer to see her maternal role emphasized over her monarchical one, could go some way to explaining the prevalence of these more familial and less formal images of the Queen. Whether the number of paintings of Victoria with her husband and children, which lack any royal accoutrements, and the care taken in engraving and publishing these images, suggests that Victoria was aware of the strategic benefits of promoting this aspect of the Queen's life is unclear. It is entirely possible that they are simply the result of Victoria, her family, her ministers, and her artists subscribing to these ideals as well. However, the efforts that were made to present the Queen, Prince Consort, and their children as an ideal, close-knit family in spite of the near impossibility of such a reality due to the calls on her and Albert's time, indicate that there was probably some level of awareness in this process.

A close examination of the preliminary chalk sketch of Landseer's painting (figure 124) reveals a few minor differences that affect the dynamic of this image. In the sketch, both the Queen and the Princess Royal look down, whereas in the finished version they make eye contact. Their direct interaction illustrated the maternal relationship Victoria had, or at least was here seen to have, with her daughter. Most interestingly, the infant Prince of Wales is turned towards the Queen in the sketch, but turned away in the final oil version. This could be due to a desire for heightened visibility, as it might be important to present the heir to the throne to the viewer. It could also be tied to the fact that the original pose was suggestive of breastfeeding.

In her discussion of the sentimental ideal of motherhood that became prominent in late eighteenth-century portraiture, Kate Retford has argued that

[45] *Art Union*, 1 December 1842, 'The Queen and her children', 283.

'the newly fashionable status of breastfeeding rendered it a crucial signifier of motherly virtue, revealing a woman's affection and care for her children'.[46] She goes on to state that, although it was too intimate an act for a respectable woman to be portrayed performing in a portrait, artists hinted at it by placing the infant cradled close to the woman's clothed bosom.[47] Victoria, however, is known to have hired a wet nurse for her children, and apparently had strong opinions about her daughters doing the same. According to a letter written in 1865 by George Villiers, fourth Earl of Clarendon and three-time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Victoria was 'frantic with her 2 daughters for making *cows of themselves*'.[48] Whether the change in the picture was made because of Victoria's personal distaste for breastfeeding, an idea of decorum, a desire for the infant Prince to be more visible, or all of these, can only be a matter of speculation. Regardless of the reasons behind this change, the turning out of the infant Prince of Wales does lend the picture a slightly more formal air, and provides a visual reminder of the line of succession and its security in the next generation.

This picture, with its domestic overtones and monarchic undertones, reached a far wider audience than the privileged few who were able to view it at Osborne House. A letter to Landseer from Jacob Bell, his friend and business manager, states that 'Boys has just been here and consented to give our price for the copyright of the Royal Mother and brats', and that he wished to know if it could be displayed 'in his own room, and also in a private room in Oxford to a select number of his friends' while it was not needed for the engraving process, thus furthering its exposure.[49] Unlike Bell, the *Art Union* had been surprised and dismayed to learn that the publisher Henry Graves (1806-1892) had purchased the copyright for this picture from Landseer for five hundred guineas as the author did not believe the value of the painting to exceed one

[46] Retford, 88.
[47] Retford, 87-8.
[48] Lord Clarendon to the Duchess of Manchester, 18 April 1865, original emphasis; A. L. Kennedy (ed.), '*My dear duchess': social and political letters to the Duchess of Manchester 1858-1869* (London, 1956), 232.
[49] Jacob Bell to Edwin Landseer, 1 September 1842; National Art Library: MSL/1962/1316/47-53.

hundred and fifty guineas.[50] For the *Art Union*, the problem was that the price of the print would be raised to cover the outlay, thereby injuring the interested buying public.[51]

Nearly two years later, advertisements for the finished prints (figure 125) began appearing. According to the *Newcastle Courant*, Shield and Turner, print sellers and publishers, were selling prints of this work for £2 2s, and proofs for £4 4s. In the *Carlisle Journal*, first proofs were a costly £6 6s, while subsequent proofs were only 84s and prints a mere 42s.[52] The *Reading Mercury* goes into greater detail about the engraving, explaining the high cost. The advertisement called this print, 'the finest and most elaborately finished Engraving' Cousins had yet produced, explaining that it took him 'no less a period than *eighteen months'* to create. It further states that, 'In consequence of the extreme fineness of the Work very few Proofs will be printed'.[53] While it must be noted that this is an advertisement designed to sell the product, the information given regarding the fineness of the engraving and the time it took to produce helps explain the cost of the proofs. Although this painting depicts a quiet and private domestic moment, its display and wide publication ensured that many of the Queen's subjects saw it, or even owned a copy of their own.[54]

Less intimate and more formal is the image by Landseer's friend Sir Francis Grant, who also portrayed the Queen and her two eldest children in 1842 (figure 126), commissioned by Victoria as a Christmas gift for Albert.[55] The next year, Grant would adapt this portrait for an explicitly monarchical image of the Queen commissioned by the United Service Club.[56] The ease with which Grant switched the focus of the painting hints at the stately elements

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[50] Landseer was, in fact, paid £105 for the painting. W.R.A., PP. 3/1, 26, as quoted in Millar, *Victorian Pictures,* 142.
[51] *Art Union*, 1 December 1842, 'The Queen and her children', 283.
[52] *Carlisle Journal*, 29 March 1845.
[53] *Reading Mercury*, 25 January 1845, original emphasis.
[54] In what may have been an incentive to early purchase, an advertisement in the *Reading Mercury* warned that, 'in consequence of the extreme fineness of the work, very few proofs will be printed'. *Reading Mercury*, 25 January 1845. Regardless, the *Carlisle Journal* noted that the print 'attracts numbers of gazers in the print shop windows'. *Carlisle Journal*, 18 January 1845.
[55] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 20 October 1842 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 14 December 1842, Princess Beatrice's copies. Both retrieved 6 November 2014.
[56] This picture is discussed at length in chapter two, (84-86).

already present in the family portrait. According to Catherine Wills, 'She is very much the Queen with pretty children. There are no domestic or genre touches. She sits, as on her throne […] as detached from the children as a High Renaissance Madonna and as unmaternal'.[57] Victoria's averted gaze and apparent unawareness of her children support this claim.

In this portrait, Victoria sits in a red chair with her feet on a high footstool, and next to her is a table covered in a cloth of a similar shade to the upholstery. There is a column at the right of the picture plane behind the Queen, and in the shadows of the upper edges, a draped curtain is visible in front of an indistinct landscape. The column and drape, traditional signals of status, have been relegated to the edges, almost unnoticeable at first glance. It is possible that age and an accumulation of dirt have added to the effect, but even in a pristine state they would have appeared subtle. The Queen wears a white satin dress with a lace bertha and adornment on the sleeves, similar to her wedding dress,[58] and her hair is styled simply. She wears no crown, no sash, and no jewellery except for two rings and two bracelets, one of which is a miniature, almost certainly Magdalena Dalton's picture of Prince Albert. The table, which would traditionally hold the crown and sceptre and other royal accoutrements, is empty save for a small blue bud vase with a few flowers.

At the centre of the painting is the infant Prince of Wales, the only figure that regards the viewer. As heir to the throne, and still a relatively new addition to the family, and to the nation, his place in the line of succession is of great importance. He is wearing a white dress with a blue sash around his waist; vaguely reminiscent of the Garter sash he would wear later in life. The Prince's dress and sash connects him to his mother through the tones of her silvery gown. The Princess Royal, on the other hand, wears red, blending in more with the furniture, possibly in part because she is placed on the ground and acts as a visual balance to the table. Both the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal are behaving age appropriately - the Prince grasps a rattle, which he holds high as though mid-shake, while the Princess is absorbed by the two dogs, Eos and Dandy Dinmont, offering them a biscuit. Although this may not be the most

[57] Wills ,'The Life and Work of Sir Francis Grant', 134.
[58] Victoria often posed in gowns similar to her wedding dress (84-85, 90, 94, 98, 101, 150, and 193).

maternal image of the queen, the antics of the children lend the canvas a domestic feeling, and Victoria's lack of royal accoutrements reinforces this.

Grant's picture has been likened to the *Great piece* of 1632 by van Dyck, and the portrait of Queen Charlotte with her two eldest sons (figure 127), painted between 1764 and 1769 by Allan Ramsay (1713-1784).[59] There are clear similarities between Ramsay's portrait of Charlotte with her sons, and Grant's of Victoria and her children. The infant Prince Frederick, later Duke of York (1763-1827), wears a white gown with a pale blue sash and a white cap, as does Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, and he, too, sits on his mother's lap facing the viewer. Like the Princess Royal, Prince George, then Prince of Wales and later George IV, stands at his mother's knee. The dynastic importance of the children is reversed here, and fittingly, George also regards the viewer. The only plaything in this image is the archer's bow which the young George holds in one hand as he lounges against his mother's knee with his right hand on his hip in a rather adult attitude, similar to George III's pose in his c.1761-2 portrait by Ramsay (figure 128). This manly pose with its visual ties to George III's stance is a reminder of his role as heir to his father's throne. Behind the Queen and her children, a massive green curtain flows down the side of two colossal columns, on a base, raising them above the level of the Queen's head. In this portrait, the signals of royalty and status are almost menacing in their grandeur, whereas in Grant's version of Victoria, they are relegated to the shadows, allowing the focus to rest on the family group.

Grant also painted a variety of non-royal female sitters with two children, including Mrs James Beech (figure 129), the Duchess of Buccleuch (figure 130), and the Baroness Leconfield (figure 131). The portrait of Mrs Beech and her children is the most similar compositionally to Victoria's. Her son Rowland sits on her lap in a white dress with blue ribbons, wielding a rattle, while her older daughter stands next to her wearing a grey-blue dress with white lace edging, the reverse colour scheme of her brother's ensemble. The red ribbon in her hair visually associates her with her mother, who also wears one, and whose black dress with white lace trim at the neckline is similar to her daughter's. Young Alice Beech has linked arms with her mother and rests

[59] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/406944/queen-victoria-with-victoria-princess-royal-and-albert-edward-prince, accessed 5 October 2013; Scott, *The royal portrait*, 148-9.

against her shoulder, while Mrs Beech holds her young son Rowland. In spite of the physical contact between all three figures, the two children regard the viewer and Mrs Beech gazes ahead, seemingly lost in thought. Like the Queen, she is linked to her children both visually and physically, and yet is not actively engaging in her motherly duties.

The Duchess of Buccleuch and the Baroness of Leconfield, however, gaze directly at the viewer, giving their physical connections to their children a protective air and a sense of ownership, as they seem to be drawing them away from their audience. Like Victoria, the Duchess is wearing a white satin gown, which is a somewhat improbable choice for the outdoor setting. She is seated, possibly on a large rock or a log, and uses a stone as a footstool. A structure rises behind the Duchess, possibly a wall, acting in place of the standard column. The costumes of her sons, particularly the one in gold who stands to her right, are reminiscent of former times, and suggestive of eighteenth-century allegorical portraiture.[60] Catherine Wills has pointed out that Baroness Leconfield's styling is similar to the women in van Dyck's portraits, carrying through a theme of references to the past in these paintings.

The majesty that Wills saw in Grant's portrait of Victoria and her children is seen more clearly in the explicitly monarchical portrait painted for the United Service Club, and yet is also markedly similar to these images of the wealthy women Grant painted with their children. Victoria's image acts as a middle ground between the two, and in which elements of both were found. The expert combination of the Queen's main roles, sovereign and wife/mother, can be found in the work of one of Victoria's favourite painters, Franz Xaver Winterhalter.

The Royal Collection contains over sixty paintings of the royal family by Winterhalter - together, individually, and in a variety of combinations. The best-known of these images is *The royal family in 1846* (figure 132), portraying Victoria and Albert enthroned and surrounded by their five children. Deborah

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[60] See, for example, Gill Perry, 'Women in disguise: likeness, the Grand style and the conventions of "feminine" portraiture in the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds', in Gillian Perry and Michael Rossington (eds.), *Femininty and masculinity in eighteenth-century art and culture* (Manchester, 1994), 18-40; and Kathleen Nicholson, 'The ideology of feminine "virtue": the vestal virgin in French eighteenth-century allegorical portraiture', in Joanna Woodall, *Portraiture, facing the subject* (Manchester, 1997), 52-72.

Cherry has declared that it 'set new terms for the depiction of a queen and definitively reinvented the monarchy as family values'.[61] The grouping of Victoria, Princess Royal, and Princess Alice doting on the infant Princess Helena, who looks out at the viewer, adds a distinctly intimate air to the image. Ira B. Nadel has commented on the way that the young Prince Alfred's stumbling steps across the foot of the painting pulls the viewer's focus, if only temporarily, from the majesty of his parents seated on thrones.[62] Nadel argued that this was an illustration of the way in which Victoria's domesticity and her royal authority were depicted hand-in-hand during her married life.[63] Richard Ormond and Carol Blackett-Ord stated that 'In no other work did Winterhalter so eloquently pay tribute to the charisma and idealism of his Royal patrons'.[64] They point out that the painting was set in Osborne House, which automatically gave the picture a more family-oriented feeling than if it had been painted at Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle, and was more appropriate for this particular picture as it was meant to be hung at Osborne.[65] The monarchical elements in this picture are immediately visible: the large and improbably placed red curtain and the hint of a column in the background, the throne-like chairs on which Victoria and Albert sit so stiffly, the Garter insignia that they wear, her tiara, and the emphasis on the Prince of Wales. However, the formality of the picture is subverted by domestic touches, such as the setting at a private home instead of a royal palace, the antics of the children, and the lack of state robes, crown, orb, or sceptre.

Victoria and Albert were 'enchanted' with the result, referring to the picture as a 'chef d'oeuvre'.[66] Victoria made a sketch of the painting, and Jennifer Scott has discussed the finished image in comparison with Victoria's copy of it (figure 133), arguing that for the Queen, 'this was first and foremost a portrait of her tight-knit family'. In her version, Victoria omitted her tiara and depicted Albert sitting higher, thus appearing 'as the more regal head of the

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[61] Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900* (Routledge; London, 2000), 125.
[62] Nadel, 177.
[63] Ibid., 185.
[64] Ormond and Blackett-Ord, 39.
[65] Ibid., 40.
[66] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 December 1846 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 6 November 2014.

family and Queen Victoria as a doting wife and mother'. Scott rightly points out that it is now impossible to say whether she viewed her version as a correction of Winterhalter's work, or as a faithful interpretation without fully realizing the changes she was making.[67] Regardless, it is revealing of the way in which Victoria viewed the gender dynamics of the group, and her position as both wife and mother, and sovereign.

Although it was meant to hang in one of the royal family's private residences, they were not the only ones to enjoy the image. Winterhalter's painting, along with his picture of the Prince of Wales in a sailor suit, was shown at St James's Palace in May and June of 1847, and over one hundred thousand people flocked to the exhibition.[68] The advertisements for the event also announced that Mr Moon had purchased the copyright and would produce engravings, which would be published by subscription.[69] The image was later reproduced as a hand-coloured lithograph by Alphonse Léon Noël (figure 134). The exhibition and subsequent derivatives ensured that this family portrait was well known, not just by those who would have seen the painting in its permanent setting at Osborne House, but by large numbers of the public, far and wide.

Traces of *The royal family in 1846* can be seen in Winterhalter's 1853 portrait of the Countess Krasinska with her three children (figure 135). Elzbieta Branicka (1820-1876) was born into one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in Poland, and grew up in the aristocratic circles of Europe. In 1843 she married the Romantic poet Sigismund Krasinski, godson of the Emperor Napoleon. Countess Krasinska commissioned Winterhalter to paint her with her children three times in the 1850s alone, only one of which survives. Like Victoria, the Countess is seated on a red chair with a marble column and large red curtain behind her, pulled to the centre to reveal a blue sky with scattered clouds and hints of a landscape in the distance. The Queen and the Countess are also positioned similarly, although notably the Countess is portrayed alone with her children. She and the Count had a famously difficult marriage, as he was devoted to his mistress, Delfina Potocka. The Countess is dressed in a wine-coloured velvet dress with white lace trimming, and her daughter, who leans on

[67] Scott, *The royal portrait*, 146.
[68] Ormond and Blacket-Ord, 41.
[69] *Morning Post*, 19 April 1847, Mr. Winterhalter's portraits of the royal family.

her shoulder, wears white. This is a reversal of the colour scheme in *The Royal family in 1846*, in which Victoria wears white and the Prince of Wales, at her side, wears red. Countess Krasinska's two sons are dressed in dark green velvet with white collars and trousers reminiscent of the Vandyke costume worn by George III and his sons in Zoffany's 1770 painting of the royal family (figure 136).[70] Unlike the Queen, who makes physical contact only with the Prince of Wales and who regards the viewer, the Countess is physically connected to all three of her children, and does not recognize the presence of the onlooker. The tightness of the composition aids in creating a more intimate feeling to the painting and highlights both the physical and emotional relationships between the figures.

While the domestic aspects of *The royal family in 1846* are similar to the comparatively informal image of the Countess Krasinska, it is also instructive to juxtapose it with the British royal family portraits that preceded it, beginning with *The family of Henry VIII* (figure 137, c. 1545). In this image, the figures are stiffly and symmetrically arranged with Princess Mary and Elizabeth relegated to liminal spaces, separated from the core family by columns. The grouping of Henry VIII, his third wife Jane Seymour and their son Edward VI is particularly interesting as Jane had died shortly after childbirth, and at the time of this painting, Henry was married to his sixth wife, Catherine Parr. However, as the focus of the picture was the Tudor dynasty, this was a fitting selection. Each figure looks straight out, and there is little to no physical contact apart from Henry's arm, which is around his son's shoulders.

Nearly one hundred years later, van Dyck painted Charles I with his wife and two eldest children (figure 138, 1632). Van Dyck had a close working relationship with the King, and has been credited with painting 'some of the greatest and most persuasive royal portraits ever produced'.[71] In this image of Charles I and his family, the columns and drapery are no longer a realistic part of the setting, but signify their elevated status. The family, which did indeed exist as such, has moved from ceremonial and symbolic to at least relatively

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[70] Aileen Ribeiro, 'Some evidence of the influence of the dress of the seventeenth century on costume in eighteenth-century female portraiture', *The Burlington magazine*, 119, 897 (1977), 832+834-840; Alison Margaret Conway, *Private interests: women, portraiture and the visual culture of the English novel, 1709-1791* (Toronto, 2001), 82-84.
[71] Ormond, *The face of monarchy*, 23.

'factual'. The children are portrayed as children, the poses are comparatively relaxed, and there is physical communication between the figures, or at least between father and son and mother and daughter. Like Victoria and Albert, the royal couple is seated on throne-like red chairs with gilding, but in this image there is a table with the crown, orb, and sceptre placed next to Charles.

Moving ahead to 1770 and to the work of another highly influential royal artist, there is Zoffany's portrait of George III with his wife and six eldest children (figure 136), in which a more informal family is displayed. According to Mary Webster, 'there was in Zoffany a very characteristic German contrast between unpretending domesticity in the interior of princely life and formality in its official portraiture, with the one conception often uneasily influencing the other'.[72] Zoffany's conversation pieces had already significantly contributed to a new, more familiar and informal style of portraiture. Additionally, Webster has argued that George III was aware that this 'more attractively familiar yet still dignified' royal portrait 'would appeal to the deep sense of domestic values of his subjects'.[73] Attitudes toward and understandings of the family were changing, emphasising sentimental relationships, parental involvement, and the opportunity for children to behave as such.[74] This, combined with the advent of the conversation piece and the changes to portraiture that it induced, paved the way for a new approach to the representation of the royal family.

The princes are grouped to the right of their father, and interact with each other and with their toys, while Princess Charlotte plays with her younger sister Augusta Sophia, who perches on her mother's lap. Although still relatively relaxed, Desmond Shawe-Taylor has noted that the activity of the children was reduced from the sketch to the finished oil, in favour of greater formality.[75] George III, who stands behind the rest of the group and does not interact with them, leans against a set of columns behind a draped curtain. Queen Charlotte is seated, calmly occupied with her daughters, but observing the viewer, and to her left is the traditional table, bearing the royal regalia. The fanciful costume worn by George III and his three eldest sons, as well as the

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[72] Webster, 228.
[73] Ibid., 230.
[74] Stone, *The family*, chapter 8; Linda Pollock, *A lasting relationship: parents and children over three centuries* (London, 1987); Mary Abbott, *Family ties: English families 1540-1920* (London, 1993), 47-51.
[75] Shawe-Taylor, *The conversation piece*, 114.

positioning of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, are references to the works of van Dyck, fabricating continuity between his reign and that of Charles I.[76]

The changes visible in the portrait of George III had accelerated by 1846, by which time the table with the royal paraphernalia had disappeared, the column was relegated to a background detail, and the children were given freer rein. Winterhalter's portrait of Victoria, Albert, and their children, while still maintaining its identity as a royal image, reflects the changes both in genre and in sentiment, and in turn helped to reinforce them as it was widely viewed and reproduced. The other works the Queen commissioned of Winterhalter are further evidence of this tendency.

Louis-Philippe, King of the French, visited Victoria in 1844, and the next year Winterhalter painted a record of their meeting (figure 139). He was most likely originally commissioned by Victoria, although Louis-Philippe requested the honour of presenting it to her as a gift.[77] The figures of the Queen and her four children were then copied and rearranged into a circular format (figure 140), and are reminiscent of Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture of Lady Cockburn and her children.[78] Each figure is posed as he or she was in the larger scene, but they are gathered together into a tight grouping, and the infant Prince Alfred is placed in Victoria's arms instead of being held by a maid of honour. The transformation of this group from a royal mise-en-scène to an intimate portrait of a mother with her children, albeit one in which their attention is commanded outside the picture frame, reaffirms the desirability of a close-knit family in royal portraiture. Victoria wears a circle of pale roses in her plainly dressed hair in place of a crown, and her jewellery is kept to a brooch and the heart pendant that held a lock of Albert's hair. The red blanket laid across Prince Alfred not only provides visual interest, but is also reminiscent of the traditional red curtain. The rearrangement of these figures was done by

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[76] Ibid. The two eldest boys are posed nearly identically to George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, and his brother, Lord Francis Villiers in van Dyck's painting dated 1635.

[77] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/401378/the-reception-of-louis-philippe-king-of-the-frenchat-windsor-castle-8, accessed 29 October 2013.

[78] David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: a complete catalogue of his paintings* (London, 2000), 137.

Winterhalter at Victoria's behest, and she was pleased with the result, calling it 'quite lovely'.[79]

Winterhalter's interpretation of a more traditional arrangement can be seen in his portrait of the Queen and Prince of Wales, from 1846. In late November and early December 1843, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and their suite went on a short tour, visiting Drayton Manor (home of Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister), Chatsworth House, and Belvoir Castle. The relationship between Peel and Victoria had started off on the wrong foot with the Bedchamber Crisis in 1839, when the young queen refused to replace her Whig ladies with women whose Tory connections would be more likely to support Peel's government.[80] Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert, who persuaded her that the crown should be nonpartisan, did much to soothe her relationship with Peel. When he became Prime Minister in 1841, they established a pleasant rapport, and Victoria and Albert much enjoyed their visit to Drayton Manor.[81] Peel wished to commemorate the event, and was involved in the commissioning of portraits of the Queen with the Prince of Wales (figure 141) and of the Prince Consort (figure 142), which Victoria presented to Peel. It is unclear who was responsible for the choice of Winterhalter, but there is written evidence of Peel's particular desire for the Prince of Wales to be included in the picture of Victoria.[82]

In the portrait, Victoria is positioned on a terrace, holding the young prince by the hand. They are flanked on the one side by a rose bush, again referencing her status as the 'rosebud of England',[83] and on the other by a large marble column. A billowing red curtain, which hangs down into the upper

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[79] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 February 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 6 November 2014.
[80] For further discussion of this crisis, see Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, 'I never saw a man so frightened: the young queen and the parliamentary bedchamber' in Homans and Munich (eds.), *Remaking Queen Victoria*, 200-218**;** Williams, *The contentious crown*, 85-88; Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics* (Manchester, 2002); and Charles Beem, '"What power have I left?" Queen Victoria's bedchamber crisis revisited', in Beem, *The lioness roared*, 141-172, who offers an thought-provoking revision of the standard account.
[81] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 November – 1 December 1843 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 6 November 2014.
[82] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/406945/queen-victoria-with-the-prince-of-wales, accessed 6 November 2014.
[83] Davis, 107. For further discussion of this, see pages 95, 98, and 159.

corners of the painting, completes the picture. The Queen, often portrayed wearing white or cream,[84] is here shown in a pink satin gown embellished with black lace, and a rose corsage at the centre front of the neckline. She also wears a floral piece in her hair, which is arranged in a series of ringlets falling over her ears instead of her usual braids or loops. These details become much more interesting when this picture is compared to a series of other portraits by Winterhalter, including those of Françoise, Princesse de Joinville (figure 143, 1846-7), Marie-Caroline, Duchesse d'Aumale (figure 144, 1846), Claire-Emilie, Vicomtesse Aguado, Marquise de Las Marismas el Guadalquivir, née Miss MacDonell (figure 145, 1852), and Madame Adelina Patti (figure 146, 1863). Each woman wears a pink silk gown with black lace, a floral corsage, and a similar accessory in her hair, and two of the women wear their hair with front-falling ringlets.

While Aileen Ribeiro has stated that 'unlike Van Dyck, we get no sense of personal preference, artistic dictatorship, or invented costume. Winterhalter paints what is before his eyes – real costume […]',[85] the striking similarity of these ensembles can be no coincidence. Two of the portraits were painted years after Victoria's, but those of the Duchess d'Aumale and the Princesse de Joinville were begun in the same year as the Queen's. The gown's repeated appearance may have been a timesaving device used by an overworked Winterhalter, or perhaps two sitters became aware of the initial representation and requested to be painted similarly, despite not owning the gown in question. It is also not impossible that Winterhalter was painting what his sitters actually wore, and that they had commissioned gowns of their dressmakers in imitation of the first sitter. It is unlikely, although not impossible, that Victoria chose to be presented in the same dress as one of these other women, and much more probable that they chose to imitate their queen. Instead of dressing in ornate and luxurious silver, gold, and furs as did many of her predecessors, the Queen is here represented in a gown that multiple non-royal women chose for their own portraits.

One accessory that is unique to Victoria's ensemble is her Garter sash, which is an immediate visual symbol of her rank. The presence of the Prince of

[84] Landseer's portraits of 1839 and 1843, Grant's of 1843, and Winterhalter's of 1842 and 1843, for example.
[85] Ribeiro, 'Fashion in the work of Winterhalter', 67.

Wales is another difference, the other women being painted alone. Such a pose was not without precedent, having been seen in Charles Jervas's portrait of Queen Caroline with her son Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (circa 1728, figure 147). Caroline was, of course, not a queen regnant but a queen consort, and the Duke of Cumberland was not the heir to the throne. However, this painting may have been influenced by George II's plans to split the crown, giving his eldest the Kingdom of Hanover, and putting William on the throne of Great Britain, as well as by Caroline's great affection for the boy.[86] Going back further, this pose can also be seen in van Dyck's portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson, dated 1633 (figure 148). While the positioning of the queens is nearly identical, Sir Jeffrey Hudson was a dwarf in her service, and not a potential heir to the throne.

Victoria was not the only queen regnant Winterhalter painted in this attitude; in 1852 he created a similar portrait for Isabel II, Queen of Spain (1830-1904, figure 70), who poses with her young daughter Isabel, Princess of Asturias (1851-1931). Isabel II succeeded her father Ferdinand VII in 1833 when only three years old, her mother acting as regent. General Baldomero Espartero took over the regency in 1840, and two years later cabinet intrigue ousted him by prematurely declaring Isabel of age at a mere thirteen years old. This move appears to have triggered in Victoria pity for the young queen and concern for the political fall out of the decision. She wrote in her journal, 'The unfortunate little Queen Isabel is declared of age; what will happen, God only knows!'[87]

In October 1846, Isabel married her cousin Francisco de Asís de Borbón. The union was not a happy one, and in later years Victoria, while acknowledging Spain's political upheaval, would suggest that 'the cause of the poor Queen's misery, was her marriage!'[88] Victoria briefly mentioned the birth of Isabel, Princess of Asturias, in 1851. A long-awaited event, it was fraught

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[86] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/402595/queen-caroline-1683-1737-with-her-son-prince-william-augustus-duke-of, accessed 30 October 2013.
[87] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 August 1843 (Princess Beatrice's copies), emphasis in original. Retrieved 6 November 2014.
[88] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 10 June 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 6 November 2014.

with anxiety, as the Queen had already lost her first child, a son.[89] The young Isabel was born heir to the throne, and would remain so until the birth of her brother, the future Alfonso XII, in 1857.

In a journal entry in 1852, Victoria described the threat posed to the Spanish Queen by the Carlists, and the intrigues encouraged by the French, Austrian, and Prussian ministers, as well as the political views of Isabel's subjects. According to Victoria, 'The Spaniards do not much care for a Constitutional Govt, their opinions inclining much more to the ancient absolute Monarchy'. That being said, she believed that the people wished to retain the constitution at the time, in part due to 'the Queen's prestige being that of a Constitutional Sovereign, as opposed to an absolute King'. Isabel Burdiel has argued that Victoria and Isabel were each considered 'as a political ideal', not so much in a governmental sense, but 'in relation to the model of the queen's personal behaviour and the institutional and political prestige associated with that behaviour'.[90] It was the perceived adaptation of each queen and her government to 'the new middle-class values of morality, self-control, reason and merit' that determined a successful, long-term retention of the throne.[91] Burdiel suggested that, while Victoria and those around her managed this transition, Isabel continued to behave as an absolute monarch, and was demonized as a 'lustful, unruly Eve', whose personal faults were inextricably linked with the old style of government.[92]

Jorge Vilches has warned against linking Isabel II and Victoria, arguing that the contexts of their reign were sufficiently different to render any comparisons fragile at best. Unlike Britain, Spain had only recently surfaced from revolution and war, and Isabel's predecessor Ferdinand VII's attempts at absolute rule had created a significantly different political legacy to the one Victoria's uncles had left for her. Additionally, Isabel's mother had persuaded Ferdinand VII to set aside the tradition of Salic law in order to allow his daughter to inherit in place of his brother, Charles. Throughout Isabel's reign, the Carlists, supporters of her uncle, were a constant threatening presence.

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[89] Only four of the ten children Isabel would later bear would survive to adulthood.
[90] Isabel Burdiel, 'The Queen, the woman and the middle class: the symbolic failure of Isabel II of Spain', *Social History*, 29, 3 (2004), 302.
[91] Ibid., 303.
[92] Ibid., 312, 319.

Although Britain was not exactly a peaceful place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – the Peterloo Massacre took place the year Victoria was born, for example – the last full-fledged revolution had taken place in the seventeenth century. While Victoria was barred from becoming Queen of Hanover due to Salic Law, she was not the first female queen in England, and was understood to have inherited legitimately, if as a 'glaring anomaly'.[93] Further distinguishing the two queens, according to José Luis Comellas, was the fact that Victoria's early writings betray a consciousness of the conflict between her status as woman and her role as queen, while Isabel's do not.[94]

In Winterhalter's portrait, Isabel's right hand indicates her daughter, who was too young to stand independently and reach her mother's hand as the Prince of Wales does Victoria's. The princess wears the sash of the Order of the Noble Ladies of Queen Maria Luisa, an order given only to women. Her red dress blends into the background, which is nearly taken up by a billowing red curtain that nearly matches the red-carpeted step and platform on which the Queen stands. The deep red setting forms a contrast to the Isabel's figure, which is dressed in an ornate white silk gown with a long train, embellished with pink roses and a series of lace flounces. Isabel wears a sash that appears to combine the orders of Maria Luisa and Charles III, a variety of jewels, and a crown with a delicate veil. This formal ensemble is fitting for such a formal portrait, one that supports her claim to the throne, and that of her daughter after her.

While Winterhalter's portrait of Victoria is much subtler in its approach, it, too, bears distinct hints of her royal status. These are particularly visible in the Garter sash that she wears, in the recognisability of her face and that of her young son, and in the column and curtain present in the background. However, when placed next to the pendant portrait of Albert (figure 142), Victoria comes across less as the monarch and more as the consort. Albert, who wears the ribbon and star of the Order of the Garter as well as his Order of the Golden Fleece, also wears a flowing black cape echoing the ermine worn traditionally worn by monarchs. He is placed between an ornate chair and a table, also standard props in state portraits, the chair resembling a throne, and the table

[93] J. Killham, *Tennyson and the princess: reflections of an age* (London, 1958), 104.
[94] José Luis Comellas, *Isabel II: una reina y un reinado* (Barcelona, 1999), 172.

often holding the royal regalia. Additionally, the background in Albert's painting has not one but two columns, and more curtain is visible here than in Victoria's portrayal. The richness of the red carpet on which Albert stands echoes the red of the curtains.

In 1857, Winterhalter depicted another royal female with the heir to the throne: Empress Eugénie and the Prince Imperial (figure 149).[95] Eugénie was a consort rather than a sovereign, and her husband had not inherited his place on the throne, but had won it through a combination of election and coercion.[96] The instability of his power made the dynastic image created by Winterhalter all the more necessary, and helps to explain the visual links to the French monarchical past within it. The Empress is connected by both pose and dress to Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun's portrayal of Marie Antoinette with her children (1787).[97] Eugénie's admiration of Marie Antoinette has been well documented,[98] and this is not the only image that links the two women.[99] Marie Antoinette is an interesting choice for emulation, considering her fate, but she was the last queen consort before the revolution and subsequent political upheaval and the similarities in the images of the two women associated the Bonapartes with the royal dynasty.

Winterhalter depicted Eugénie seated on a gilt wood chair in the style of Louis XVI, holding her son on her knees. The long-awaited birth of the Prince Imperial had been a harrowing ordeal, leaving her unable to bear any more children. With no other offspring to secure the succession, the young prince was especially valuable politically. This portrait was a stronger dynastic statement than was necessary for Victoria and Albert, who had plenty of 'spares' should something happen to the Prince of Wales. Eugénie sits enthroned, surrounded by a draped curtain and a regal column. While the

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[95] See further discussion of Empress Eugénie in chapters two (93-94), three (129-133), and seven (255-257, 260).
[96] Price, chapter 1.
[97] Alison McQueen has also suggested that the infant Prince Imperial's head was modelled in part after Napoleon I's visage. McQueen, *Empress Eugénie*, 99.
[98] For further discussion of Empress Eugénie's interest in Marie Antoinette, see Dolan, 22-28; Allison Unruh, 'Aspiring to *la vie* galante: reincarnations of Rococo in Second Empire France' (New York University PhD dissertation, 2008); and McQueen, *Empress Eugénie*, 99-101.
[99] Eugénie wears fancy dress inspired by the eighteenth century in: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *The Empress Eugénie* (1854), oil on canvas, 92.7 x 73.7 cm; The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Empress herself wears no royal accoutrement, the infant Prince wears the sash and medal of the Legion of Honour, proclaiming his status as heir to the throne. The ties to Vigée-Lebrun's portrait, which had been engraved and published, and hence part of the mental image library of many who viewed Eugénie's portrait, and the regal setting are the only other indicators of the pair's royal status, other than the familiarity of the Empress's distinctive features.

Winterhalter's image of Eugénie and the Prince Imperial acts as a revealing foil to his picture of Victoria with Prince Arthur (figure 150), painted in 1850, throwing into relief the non-monarchical nature of the image. Victoria commissioned Winterhalter to paint this portrait of her with her then-youngest child Arthur as a birthday gift for Prince Albert. Arthur was Victoria's seventh child and third son, and was her particular favourite. He already showed promise as an infant, Victoria referring to him as 'a magnificent baby', and years later she would state outright in a letter to Albert, 'This Child is dear, dearer than any of the others put together, thus after you he is the dearest and most precious object to me on Earth'.[100] The figures are set on the Upper Terrace of Osborne House, overlooking the Solent.

Victoria and Albert had purchased Osborne House in 1845, and spent the next six years rebuilding it to suit their taste, and to house their growing family. Located on the Isle of Wight, it provided them with a cosy, if still royal, retreat from Court and palace life. A Swiss cottage was built on the grounds to give their children a place to learn housekeeping and gardening skills, and gain some small insight into what daily life was like for many of their subjects.[101] Osborne was a fitting location for such an 'intimate' portrait - small in size, with a relatively private setting, and which captures a moment between the Queen and her son, who are seemingly unaware of the viewer. However, this picture was engraved by Georg Zobel, printed by T Brooker and published by Colnaghi, meaning that this 'private' image was consumed by the public, in the windows and on the walls of print shops, and was available for purchase.

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[100] A memorandum from Victoria to Albert, dated 7 October 1858, and quoted in Mary Howard McClintock, *The Queen thanks Sir Howard: the life of Major-General Sir Howard Elphinstone, V.C., K.C.B., C.M.G* (London, 1945), 25.
[101] J. H. Plumb, *Royal heritage: the story of Britain's royal builders and collectors* (London, 1977), 258.

In the picture, Victoria wears a gown of floral-printed muslin, soft and flowing with its flounces and full petticoats. Her cap is placed far back on her head, with an abundance of blue ribbon forming large rosettes at the sides, completing the relatively fussy ensemble. She wears no visible sign of her royalty, not a crown, not the Garter sash, and no ermine or cloth of gold. As Susan P. Casteras suggested, 'this could be a portrait of almost any middle-class Victorian mother with her baby' - any middle-class woman with a fine wardrobe and a palatial home, that is.[102] The Queen's infant son absorbs her attention, the soft material of his cream-coloured gown and the pink ribbon adorning it melting into Victoria's skirts, while his cap mirrors her own. The whites, blues, and pinks in their ensembles are echoed by the brick of the terrace, the white cement of the planter, the blues of the river, sky, and of the spiky *Agave Americana*, anchoring them in the home setting.[103] The green plants behind Victoria and opposite her figure add freshness to the colour palette, and act as a reminder of young life and the promise of future growth.

Winterhalter painted Victoria with Prince Arthur again in 1851 (figure 151), in a composition that is less a family portrait, although it includes Prince Albert, and is more a record of a specific moment caught in time, albeit altered for greater artistic effect. Victoria holds Prince Arthur, the two figures bathed in light, as his godfather, the Duke of Wellington, presents the infant with a casket.[104] The day commemorated was the first of May 1851, which was not only the Prince's first birthday, but also the opening day of the Great Exhibition, in the organization of which Prince Albert had played a leading role. Albert stands in the background of the image, turned aside and drawing the viewer's attention to the Crystal Palace in the background, which housed the exhibition. Victoria and her family attended the exhibition on that day, participating in the opening ceremony, and Victoria and Albert are dressed in what they wore on

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[102] Casteras, 'The wise child', 23.
[103] The *Agave Americana* did not belong in the planter, but grew nearby. The planter was actually filled with flowering plants. The spiky leaves formed a more interesting visual contrast to the softness of Victoria and Arthur's ensembles, however, and Winterhalter used artistic license in making the change. Jonathan Marsden (ed.), *Victoria & Albert: art & love* (London, 2010), 83.
[104] The Duke actually presented the Prince with a gold cup and toys, but it was decided that a casket would be of greater artistic effect in the painting. Marsden, 88.

the occasion, which could explain their formal and overtly royal appearances on this familial occasion. Samuel Cousins engraved the picture (figure 152), allowing Victoria's subjects to bring it home and add it to their collection, or at least to see it on the walls of print shops and galleries.

While the concept of the family was, and is, complicated and difficult to define clearly, the Queen, her handsome husband and their large brood of healthy children, exemplified the contemporary ideal to her subjects. Even when the picture was largely monarchical in nature – with Victoria and Albert in their regalia and with the Prince of Wales set apart as heir – touches of the domestic were introduced with the children acting naturally in the foreground. The informality evident even in the stateliest of Victoria's family portraits allowed for a closer relation between the royal family, and those of aristocratic and middle-class Britain. By positioning Victoria as carrying out her duties as an affectionate mother, one whose place near the cradle was not jeopardized or replaced by her duties on the throne, she fulfilled the ideals of mid-nineteenth century womanhood and the Protestant values that guided, and influenced, the lives of so many of her subjects. The lack of crown, orb, and sceptre in the majority of these images, and the presence of toddling children and playful infants, is, however, balanced by the still ever-present, if now subtle, red curtain, marble column, throne-like chairs and the Order of the Garter.

It was in the pictures that were most clearly domestic, such as Winterhalter's painting of Victoria and Prince Arthur at Osborne, that the Queen most fully embodied the ideal of motherhood. The sentimental approach that Kate Retford had discussed in the context of the eighteenth century had become dominant, and heavily influenced Victoria's portrayal as a mother. The spread of these images by way of tours, public display, and engravings, ensured that the royal family would be seen by thousands, and would become deeply influential itself on the British idea of family relations. However, it is also clear that Victoria and Albert were responding to expectations as much as forming them, in that they were not middle class, nor did they have much time to spend romping with their children. These scenes were theatrical in nature, thoroughly planned and well orchestrated.

The response of at least one art critic, that it was Victoria's motherhood that her subjects wanted to see, not her sovereignty, fits in with the ways in

which she is represented during her marriage. While she still appeared in state portraits and, even with her children, sometimes being portrayed in a formal manner with the Garter insignia and a remote expression, the number of paintings that showed her with her family, and the intimate moments they captured and displayed to the public, suggests that she, and her artists, was aware of the power of her maternity, alongside her sovereignty, in winning the hearts and loyalty of her subjects. As stated in the *ILN*, 'Queen Victoria will never appear more exalted in the world's opinion than when each side of the picture is thus revealed – the great Queen and stateswoman in the gorgeous palace – the young, lovely, and virtuous mother amidst the pure joys of sylvan retreat and domestic relaxation.'[105]

These images of the Queen and her family allowed the viewer a glimpse of royal life, or at least of royal life as it was represented, and a chance almost to participate in it as they gazed on this vibrant moment frozen in time. Winterhalter's *The first of May* stands out as creating a tableaux with references to specific events, more than simply collecting likenesses. Victoria was often shown in a narrative context, almost frozen in a moment, and examples of this will be examined in chapter five.

[105] 28 May 1842, *Illustrated London News*, 40.

Chapter 5
'Portraits in action': windows onto the life of the Queen

On 19 September 1845, the *Morning Post* advertised a forthcoming production by the *Pictorial Times*. A series of engravings based on the life of Queen Victoria, it was to include images of her christening, first council, coronation, marriage, the christening of the Prince of Wales, a visit from the King of France, and a scene of Victoria at home with her children.[1] This mix of moments, both those of monarchical ceremony, and those more closely tied to private life, although with royal overtones due to her position, speaks to the continual negotiation between these main elements of Victoria's public image. The booklet of engravings, all taken from paintings that had been authorized by the Queen if not commissioned by her, allowed her subjects glimpses of her actions, both public and private. While highly mediated, together they form a narrative of her life that is richly revealing of how she wished to be seen, as well as how the fulfilment of her monarchical duties was perceived. By examining images of her accession and coronation, family ceremonies such as her wedding and the christenings of her children, and her interactions with fellow sovereigns and her subjects, it is possible to gain a greater understanding of the building blocks that formed Victoria's image, and the factors that went into its shaping.

I will argue that the body of images representing Victoria's queenship in action, ranging from her first privy council to her visit to the wounded soldiers at Chatham, allowed those who viewed these works, either in their original or derivative forms, to act as witnesses, and to be part of the narratives of sovereignty and femininity created in her portraits. The exhibition of these works at the Royal Academy, the offices of print sellers and engravers, and on publicity tours, as well as the printing and sale of engravings and the publication of woodcuts in the press, allowed many more to see these images than would have been possible previously. Victoria firmly believed that allowing her subjects glimpses of her family and of her life was 'of use not to be

[1] *Morning Post*, 19 September 1845.

described', identifying the Queen with her subjects and vice versa, strengthening the connection between them, and solidifying her position on the throne.[2]

Discussion of these works draws attention to the issue of the categorization of visual images, and to its importance both in the creation and perception of these images. While clearly allied with history painting, it is debatable whether these pictures of the Queen in action fully qualify as such. Renaissance artist and scholar Leon Battista Alberti, in his *De Pictura* (1436), declared history painting to be the noblest art form and the most difficult of the genres as it required knowledge and skill in all areas, and was allied with the written epic, which was considered the highest of the literary genres.[3] Portraiture was deemed second to history painting, as it required fidelity to imperfection and individuality, instead of allowing the artist scope for the ideal.[4] A work of history - or, to use the term more common in the nineteenth century, historical - painting, was required to '[awaken] in the mind and heart of the viewer a feeling of admiration', and must '[make] an impact by the sense of its grandeur'.[5] Usually large in size and often, although not necessarily, related to Antiquity or the Bible, these pictures depicted pivotal moments in history, and primarily focused on the actions of men as opposed to women. Notions of history painting changed over time, and in 1771, Benjamin West's *Death of Wolfe* proved that a subject could be worthy of history painting and still be depicted in contemporary clothing, opening the genre to a wider range

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[2] Queen Victoria to Baron Stockmar, 19 July 1851, as quoted in Martin, ii, 314.
[3] Leon Battista Alberti and Rocco Sinisgalli (ed.), *On painting* (Cambridge, 2011), 81; Ronald Paulson, 'The harlot's progress and the tradition of history painting', *Eighteenth-century studies*, 1, 1 (1967), 71. Reynolds, while president of the Royal Academy, had wished for history painting to be a focal point of study. Henry Howard, who was appointed professor of painting at the School in 1833, was still lamenting the state of historical painting in his lectures, using it as an index of the state of art in Britain. Frank Howard (ed.) and Henry Howard, *A course of lectures on painting…* (London, 1848), lecture vi, 237-291.
[4] John Barrell, 'Sir Joshua Reynolds and the political theory of painting', *Oxford art journal*, 9, 2 (1986), 39. For further discussion of history painting and the hierarchy of genres, see Michael Fried, *Absorption and theatricality: painting and the beholder in the age of Diderot* (Berkeley, 1980); Roland Mortier, *Diderot and the 'grand goût': the prestige of history painting in the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1982).
[5] Mortier, *Diderot*, 3.

of subject matter.[6] In December of that year, Sir Joshua Reynolds, president of the Royal Academy, delivered his fourth discourse to the students there. In it, he expounded upon the genre of history painting and suggested that 'a painter of history shows the man by showing his actions'.[7]

The authors of many publications perceived the paintings of Victoria to be fine examples of the genre: the *Newcastle Courant* advertised a viewing of the 'splendid historical picture' of the Queen's first council by Wilkie; the *Windsor and Eton Express* referred to Parris's coronation picture as a 'splendid historical painting'; and the *Carlisle Journal* called all 'admirers of Historical Painting' to see Hayter's picture of the royal marriage in person.[8] *The Art Journal*, however, repeatedly took issue with this terminology and was careful to distance itself from the uncritical application of the category 'historical picture'. In speaking of Leslie's coronation painting, it was declared that the character of the picture was 'too local, and the personages introduced into it too actual, to permit our classing the picture under the head "Historical"'.[9] This argument was expanded upon in response to Hayter's coronation painting, which is worth quoting at length. The author stated,

> 'We may not judge this picture as of the strictly historical class; the artist could not have been free to follow the suggestions of his own mind; to the FACTS before him – and they were familiar to thousands – he was compelled strictly to adhere; the persons to be pourtrayed (sic) were to be grouped exactly as form and etiquette, and not imagination, placed them; and, above all, it was his first and most especial duty to paint accurate "likenesses" of all the parties introduced into the scene he represents. No latitude was, therefore, allowed to fancy; genius was of necessity trammelled'.[10]

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[6] David Alexander, 'Print makers and print sellers in England, 1770-1830', in Peter Cannon-Brookes (ed.), *The painted word: British history painting: 1750-1830* (Woodbridge, 1991), 31.
[7] Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on painting and the fine arts, delivered at the Royal Academy* (London, 1837), 50. Reynold's *Discourses* went through many editions; I have chosen a printing that would have been available to the artists discussed in this chapter. For an insightful discussion of the genre and its evolution, see Mark Salber Phillips, '"A topic that history will proudly record"; or, what is the "history" in history painting?', in Salber Phillips, 155-185.
[8] 31 May 1839, *Newcastle Courant*; 27 April 1839, *Windsor and Eton Express*; 17 December 1842, *Carlisle Journal*. It must be taken into account that some of these articles were advertising the picture and prints made from it. However, the fact that these works are spoken of as 'historical painting' is still relevant.
[9] 15 December 1839, *The Art Journal*, 183.
[10] 15 March 1840, *The Art Journal*, Works in progress, 39.

The decrease in the stamp tax in 1836 and the dropping of the tax on periodicals, as well as developments in paper manufacturing and printing technology, permitted large portions of the population to be familiar with the events as they occurred, and in a position to criticize any misrepresentation. Moreover, prints of many of the sitters in these large works had already been widely circulated, giving the viewing public a sense of their physiognomies, and creating expectations for their further representation. Another review of Hayter's coronation painting, again in *The Art Journal*, explained that it was not only the opportunity for criticism by viewers who were acquainted with the subject, but the lack of dignity inspired by the passage of time that separated it from the genre of historical painting. The author stated that, 'It is in art as it is in literature; the occurrences of the day are not the fittest for the display of power; we are perpetually startled by that which is familiar, and to which the highest genius cannot give "a grand effect"'. The passage of at least a century was required, the author wrote, for the passage of time to place an obscuring veil over the littleness of men.[11]

Some, such as the critic at the *Athenaeum*, believed these pictures did indeed qualify as history paintings, 'but it is unavoidably History treated in the *genre* style'.[12] Genre art, which was placed significantly lower in the artistic hierarchy, depicted unidentified people engaged in everyday activities. David Solkin has provided a further differentiation between the two genres, stating that 'whereas historical art was expected to present viewers with a "pregnant moment" of significant action that implied both a preceding cause and a consequence to follow, no such progression was traditionally demanded of genre painting.'[13] The *Athenaeum* is suggesting that these works had an air of the mundane in spite of their royal subject and their 'historical' treatment. For those who agreed with this categorization, there was always the threat that the artists would stray from the pictorial ideals of the genre, with the result that the theme 'is not historically, nor even poetically treated; it is a mere group of

[11] 15 May 1839, *The Art Journal*, 60.
[12] 20 May 1843, *The Athenaeum*, 492-3.
[13] David H. Solkin, *Painting out of the ordinary: modernity and the art of everyday life in early nineteenth-century Britain* (London, 2008), 39.

portraits'.[14] This was not always viewed as completely problematic, as it often meant increased sales to those who wished to hang representations of the nation's leaders in their homes. The print seller Francis Graham Moon spoke positively of Wilkie's privy council painting when he stated, 'Nor is it an historical picture alone; it is also a portrait one'.[15]

Sir David Wilkie's comments in a letter to Sir George Beaumont (1753-1827), a patron of the arts who was instrumental in the forming of the collection of the National Gallery in London, shed further light on the genre question.[16] He wrote of 'portraits in action', which were a combination of portraiture and history, creating what he hoped would be 'an effective subject'.[17] This idea is particularly well suited to the portraits discussed in this chapter, which are indeed pictures of the monarch in action. She performs her queenly, wifely, and motherly duty in these images, and allows the viewers to participate through observation. By opening a window into her public and private life, and inviting her subjects to see and even own a copy, she strengthened the connection between them. Her subjects, who were, generally speaking, far removed from the royal circle, in this sense became witnesses to her sovereignty and her domesticity.

The first authorized image of the young Queen performing her duties as monarch, which was also the first painting she commissioned as sovereign, was Sir David Wilkie's *The Queen presiding over her first council* (1837, figure 153). Wilkie was elected a full member of the Royal Academy in 1811, and was appointed Painter in Ordinary to George IV in 1830, a post that was confirmed by both William IV and Victoria.[18] According to Wilkie's personal

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[14] *The Morning Chronicle*, 1838; 1: 349, as quoted in William J. Chiego, 'David Wilkie and history painting', in Willaim J. Chiego (ed.), *Sir David Wilkie of Scotland (1785-1841)*, (Raleigh, 1987), 21-47.
[15] Francis Graham Moon, *The grand historical picture of our sovereign presiding at the council…* (London, c. 1837), 4.
[16] For further information on Beaumont and his involvement in the fine arts, see Felicity Owen and David Blayney Brown, *Collector of genius: a life of Sir George Beaumont* (London, 1988).
[17] Sir David Wilkie to Sir George Beaumont, 31 October 1823; Allan Cunningham, *The life of Sir David Wilkie… ii* (London, 1843), 106.
[18] For further scholarly discussion of Wilkie's work, especially his genre paintings, see: David Blayney, *Sir David Wilkie: drawings and sketches in the Ashmolean Museum* (London, 1985); H.A.D. Miles and David Blayney Brown, *Sir David Wilkie of Scotland, 1785-1841* (Raleigh, c. 1987); Lindsay Errington, *David*

correspondence, he was summoned to Brighton in October 1837, expecting to fulfil his duties as Principal Painter in Ordinary by creating a state portrait to be sent to far-flung British Embassies. Upon arriving, he found that the Queen had heard of a sketch he had made of her first privy council, which she was 'strongly set' on his completing for her.[19] Wilkie recorded some level of participation by the Queen, noting that she 'has been telling me who to put in it'.[20] From the outset he anticipated a 'considerable plague in adjusting all the persons', and indeed a few months later he wrote that it was causing him 'great trouble'.[21]

Wilkie had never been fully confident painting portraits, preferring to work to his strengths in the realm of genre painting. Nor was Wilkie the only one to express misgivings regarding his talents in this arena. Victoria recorded in her journal Lord Melbourne's blunt statement that Wilkie 'never could paint portraits, and he never will', and the Queen would later refer to his appointment as 'such a mistake' for this reason.[22] It is no surprise, then, that Victoria's original response to the picture was mixed. After viewing the painting in February 1838, she described it as 'a fine picture' in spite of the 'very few good likenesses; Lord Melbourne's is quite detestable and really quite vexes me'.[23] Nine years later she saw only its faults, calling it 'one of the worst pictures I have ever seen, both as to painting & likenesses', and stating that 'everyone was horrified when they saw it yesterday'.[24] *The Times* was kinder in its review, pronouncing it 'a splendid picture', specifically praising the likeness

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Wilkie, 1785-1841 (Edinburgh, c. 1988); Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: painter of everyday life* (London, 2002); Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: the people's painter* (Edinburgh, c. 2007); and Solkin, *Painting out of the ordinary*.

[19] Sir David Wilkie to William Collins, Esq. R.A., 12 November 1837. The incident is also mentioned in his letters to Miss Wilkie, 17 October 1837, and to Lady Baird, 2 February 1838. All are reproduced in Cunningham, *The life of Sir David Wilkie*, iii, 226, 229, 235.

[20] Sir David Wilkie to Miss Wilkie, 17 October 1837. Ibid., 226.

[21] Sir David Wilkie to William Collins, Esq. R.A., 12 November 1837; 12 February 1838. Ibid., 229, 237.

[22] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 4 April 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 20 March 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 22 November 2014.

[23] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 February 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[24] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 November 1847 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014. Who exactly comprised the 'everyone' in this journal entry is unclear, as she does not refer to having any visitors at the time. Most likely, she meant the members of her court who were then in waiting.

of the Queen, that 'very felicitously conveys the intellectual characteristics of her countenance', and calling the other portraits 'good' to 'very striking'.[25]

In the painting, Victoria is seated at the head of a long table covered in red cloth. She perches at the edge of a red and gold chair, which is reminiscent of a throne and has been placed on a raised dais, drawing attention to her figure as well as counteracting her small stature in a room full of grown men. The Duke of Sussex is the only figure between the viewer and the table, and is seated facing the Queen, about to sign the oath. Dressed in black, he acts as a mirror to, or reverse image of, Victoria, balancing the composition while both linking her to the previous generation, and illustrating the differences between the young girl and her famously hedonistic uncles. The Duke of Cumberland, who had just inherited the throne of Hanover, and the rest of the Privy Council members who were portrayed, are ranged between the table and the far wall.

The darkly clad men meld into a sea of faces, while the light falls on Victoria, who stands out in her youth and femininity, and her controversial white gown. Wilkie described the dress she wore for her sittings as 'white satin, covered with gauze embroidered', although it is believed that she was in mourning for her uncle at the time of the council. There seems to have been some initial confusion and concern on this point, as Charles Robert Leslie reassured his sister that the Queen was depicted wearing white because 'it is not the etiquette that she should be in mourning till after the funeral of the King'.[26] According to her nineteenth-century biographer Sarah Tooley, 'It is said that the Queen expressed anxiety over this change in her attire, hoping that it might not be misconstrued as an act of disrespect to the late King, for, she added, "I was in black, notwithstanding."'[27] A once-black gown from the correct time period, which Victoria had carefully preserved throughout her life, is most likely the one that she wore (figure 154).[28] Victoria's reputed concern over the

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[25] *The Times*, 10 April 1838.
[26] Sir David Wilkie to Miss Wilkie, 28 October 1837; Charles Robert Leslie and Tom Taylor (ed.), *Autobiographical recollections* (Wakefield, 1978), 243.
[27] Sarah A. Tooley, *The personal life of Queen Victoria* (London, 1896), 75-6.
[28] Staniland, *In royal fashion*, 94. This gown remains in the Royal Collection and is currently on display at Kensington Palace in the room where the Privy Council was held. For further information on the discoloration, see: Mika Takami and Ina Vanden Berghe, 'Caring for Queen Victoria's privy council dress c. 1837: an investigation of the unique discoloration of the black silk', *e-Preservation Science*, 10 (2013), 42-49.

switch of her black mourning gown for white signals the Queen's awareness of and deference to the prevailing codes for proper behaviour, and Leslie's comments suggest that such conduct was expected of the young Queen.

Unfortunately, it was not recorded whose decision it was to stray from historical accuracy on this point. However, it is clear that the white gown enhanced the difference in age and sex between Victoria and the men who surrounded her, and added, as Leslie phrased it, 'to her innocent and dove-like appearance'.[29] Susan P. Casteras has argued that her being dressed 'more like a mere girl than a queen in royal robes' underlined her fragility and femininity both visually and ideologically.[30] Print seller Francis Graham Moon's comments in his booklet on the engraving support this, stating that it was her 'maiden innocence, youthful simplicity, and singleness of heart', rather than her position, that allowed Victoria to preside over and influence her Privy Council.[31] Moon suggested that her simple dress was a visual symbol of her expected style of rule, stating that the Queen, 'thus "unadorned, adorned the most," persuades rather than commands'.[32]

As one of the first paintings that worked to build Victoria's public image as monarch, in spite of her low opinion of its merits, Wilkie's picture was seen by thousands. He worked under great pressure to finish the painting in time for it to be included in the Royal Academy's exhibition in 1838. As a member of the Academy, he served on the hanging committee and mentioned some of the placements in a letter to fellow artist and Royal Academician William Collins. Wilkie's picture was given one of the coveted centre spots, on the wall behind the President's chair. The painting was subsequently engraved by Charles Fox, and published by Francis Graham Moon, who created a booklet that included a fold-out version of the image, accompanied by a key explaining the various figures contained within it.

This first work was followed by a rush of portraits in action that continued through Victoria's life, such as depictions of her coronation, which was held in Westminster Abbey on 28 June 1838. The importance of this event guaranteed that it would be recorded by a variety of artists, and that these

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[29] Leslie, *Autobiographical recollections*, ii, 243.
[30] Casteras, 'The wise child', 192.
[31] Moon, *The grand historical picture*, 6.
[32] Ibid., 11.

representations would reach a wide viewing public. However, the *Art Journal* noted that 'We hear of only four pictures of the Coronation – one by Leslie, R.A.; one by John Martin; one by George Hayter, her Majesty's historical and portrait Painter, and the one we are about to notice [by Parris]', and it is these that will be examined in this chapter.[33] Sir George Hayter (1792-1871), Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859), John Martin (1789-1854), and Edmund Thomas Parris (1793-1873) each approached the task of representing the coronation from varied backgrounds and relationships with the Queen and the royal family, as well as slightly different commissions. Each of these factors affected their portrayal of the ceremony, and of its main protagonist.

Lord Melbourne and Victoria, in dissecting the coronation, declared that it had been a 'most brilliant day', and 'that all had gone off so well' in spite of the general lack of preparation and the incompetence of the 'maladroit' Edward Maltby, Bishop of Durham, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, '(as usual) was so confused and puzzled and knew nothing'.[34] In his seminal essay on the ritual of the British monarchy, David Cannadine has described the period of 1820 to the 1870s, which included her coronation, as 'a period of ineptly managed ritual, performed in what was still preponderantly a localized, provincial, pre-industrial society'.[35] It would not be until approximately 1877, when Victoria was created Empress of India, that the 'invention of tradition' truly took hold. Her coronation, and the images produced of it, is particularly interesting for being close precursors of this trend, and the focus on a more ritualized and well-rehearsed version of royalty.

A few days before Victoria's coronation in June 1838, Richard Hodgson and Henry Graves, Print Sellers to the Queen, approached George Hayter, her Painter of History and Portrait,[36] and asked him to paint the ceremony in order

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[33] *The Art Journal*, 15 April 1839.
[34] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 June 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts), original emphasis. Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[35] David Cannadine, 'The context, performance and meaning of ritual: the British monarchy and the 'invention of tradition', c. 1820-1977', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 108.
[36] Hayter would later succeeded Sir David Wilkie as Principal Painter in Ordinary to the Queen after Wilkie's death in 1841, and the next year received the knighthood he had long coveted. Surprisingly little has been written on Hayter, and current scholars are mostly reliant on a single exhibition catalogue:

for it to be engraved.[37] The Queen gave her permission for the undertaking, and offered the artist a seat in her box to observe the ceremony. Hayter also obtained a ticket for the Lord Chamberlain's box, and after testing the view from each, decided on the latter.[38] In choosing the scene to depict, Hayter initially prepared sketches of a few select moments from the ceremony, and then consulted Victoria. Hayter's diary contains valuable information on this process and when cross referenced with Queen Victoria's journal entries, offers a rare opportunity to examine the roles played by the artist, the sitter, and those in her circle, in selecting the scene, the positioning of the figures, and all of the components that went into the picture. On 10 July 1837, Hayter showed the Queen the sketches he had worked on so far, and she chose the scene of Homage (figure 155).[39] Within the next two weeks, however, the setting had been changed to the moment after the crown had been placed on the Queen's head, which Victoria had singled out in her journal as 'a most beautiful impressive moment'.[40] It is unclear who instigated this change, or what was the motivation behind it, as it was not mentioned in the journals of either Victoria or Hayter. On the 23rd, Victoria and Lord Melbourne examined the sketch (figure 156), which they both admired, Lord Melbourne going so far as to express his opinion that the large painting could never capture the scene so well as the small sketch did.[41]

The next day, however, former Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen viewed the image and advised Hayter to focus on the Archbishop actually crowning the

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Barbara Coffey (ed.), *An exhibition of drawings by Sir George Hayter 1792-1871 and John Hayter 1800-1895* (London, 1982), and on the relevant entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. A typescript of Hayter's diary, located in the library at the National Portrait Gallery, London, is a nearly untouched resource on Hayter's life and on painting at the time. George Hayter and Angelo Hayter (transcriber), *Diary of Sir George Hayter, 1st January 1838-21st June 1858*, (unpublished).

[37] Hayter had some experience painting 'occasions', as can be seen in his depiction of the trail of Queen Caroline (1820-1823; National Portrait Gallery, London), and The House of Commons (1833-1843); National Portrait Gallery, London).

[38] Hayter, 25 June 1838, 6.

[39] Hayter, 10 July 1838, 7.

[40] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 June 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts), original emphasis. Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[41] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 23 July 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.

Queen, in part to give the cleric a more active role in the picture. Hayter reworked his design and provided the Queen with a new version, explaining all of his alterations and the arguments put forth by Lord Aberdeen. Victoria rejected this design, and as Hayter stated, displayed 'a great deal of decided character in the manner of giving her opinion'. She insisted that she 'would not be handed down to posterity stooping & bowing her head', and commanded that Hayter revert to his original plan, or she would have nothing to do with it.[42] While Victoria wrote a lengthy journal entry for that day, assiduously recreating conversations and relaying court gossip; she simply noted that she 'sat to Hayter', and made no other mention of this commission or conversation.[43] However, further comments confirm that the Queen was interested in the progress of the work, and was involved in some decisions regarding it. On the 20th, Hayter changed the position of the Queen's figure according to her suggestion. After Victoria reviewed the alterations, she discussed them with the artist before agreeing that the original profile was better. Hayter commented on his delight in her 'weighing this matter like an artist'.[44]

In the final version (figure 157), Victoria is seated on King Edward's chair, wearing the crown, with her trainbearers and other attendants packed behind her. The royal family fills the stall along the back of the picture, and opposite the Queen are the Archbishop and other clerics. The imaginary canopy with the red cloth backing of the stall frame the Queen from above, and the empty ground in front of her draws the eye to Victoria's figure. The national importance of the scene and the many dignitaries included in it made it an excellent picture for engraving, which had been the purpose of the original commission. Although Hodgson had at one point appeared 'inclined to get rid of his engagement', Hayter had been able to persuade him to go ahead with the arrangement. Hayter leaves no indication of the reasoning behind Hodgson's wavering, and the final product garnered considerable praise. Prince Albert, who viewed it at the print sellers', 'expressed the highest admiration'. Hayter

[42] Hayter, 25 July 1838, 8.
[43] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 July 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.
[44] Hayter, 20 August 1838, 10. The Queen was indeed an amateur artist, and some of her works remain in the Royal Collection as testimony of her skill.

also noted the visit in his journal, and wrote that, 'on leaving HRH was much cheered by the people & the ladies who had been waiting to see the picture', suggesting that the viewing was open to at least a section of the public, who had gathered in numbers to see the painting.[45] The printers employed Henry Thomas Ryall (1811-1867), Historical Engraver to the Queen, to engrave the picture (figure 158). According to an advertisement placed in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, prints were available for £4 4s, with proofs costing £8 8s and proofs before letters were £12 12s.[46]

When the prints of Hayter's portrait of Victoria in her dalmatic robes were made available, he recorded in his journal that the Queen ordered 6 without letters, and 18 proofs with letters.[47] Although no similar transaction is mentioned in reference to the coronation picture, there is evidence that she obtained some of these as well. In 1845, the *Sherborne Mercury* related the story of an artisan who received a framed proof edition of Hayter's coronation picture in return for a nautilus shell he had painstakingly engraved with text as a gift for the Queen.[48] The presenting of the Coronation picture to a loyal subject, one who made a special effort to please and honour the Queen, suggests that the image was considered a suitable representation of her sovereignty for dissemination among her supporters.

For those who could not afford to purchase the engraving, and were not able to view the original painting in London, opportunities were afforded as it went on tour. Hayter attended a viewing in Liverpool, complaining that the room was too small.[49] If visiting the painting in person were still not an option, there were many newspaper articles that brought the painting to life for their readers. *The Art Journal* reviewed the painting no less than four times, at various stages of its completion. The comments were always effusive, declaring that 'it will disappoint no one' and calling it 'a perfect triumph of British art'.[50] Victoria's praise of Hayter's picture was also consistent, although less gushing. Although Hayter was later granted the commission to paint Victoria and

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[45] Hayter, 4 April 1840, 28.
[46] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 10 September 1842.
[47] Hayter, 12 August 1840, 31.
[48] *Sherborne Mercury*, 25 January 1845, 'Present from her Majesty to an artisan'. For an account of the original gift, see *London Standard*, 13 January 1845.
[49] Hayter, 18 April 1840, 28.
[50] *The Art Journal*, 15 May 1839; *The Art Journal,* 15 December 1839.

Albert's wedding on the strength of this work, she repeatedly referred to it as 'fine', but no more, evidently preferring another.[51]

Charles Robert Leslie also tried his hand at recording the momentous occasion (figure 159), and again, although the Queen did not commission his version, she authorized it and later purchased it. In 1838 Leslie was hard at work painting portraits of the fourth Baron Holland and his wife, when Lady Holland surprised Leslie with an introduction to the Queen and a ticket to the Coronation ceremony. Lady Holland further aided Leslie's cause by providing an order of admission that allowed him to enter the Abbey to sketch the decorations before they were all taken down. Obtaining a sitting from the Queen, however, proved more difficult. In July 1838, Victoria mentioned in her journal that Lord Melbourne had met Leslie at a dinner party at Holland House, that Leslie had spoken of his desire to paint the subject, and that Lord Melbourne 'didn't give him much hope'.[52] Not long after, however, Victoria wrote of sitting for Leslie, and by November had already decided to purchase the picture.[53]

While she had spoken well of Hayter's painting, she was effusive in her praise of Leslie's, and carefully noted the admiration of others as well. Lady Holland was 'charmed' with it, while Lord Melbourne was 'quite delighted', and was brought to tears when he described the scene to Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, the sculptor.[54] In August of 1839, Victoria continued to be fulsome in her praise of Leslie, stating that the picture was 'finished and so prettily', while Hayter's painting was still 'fine'.[55] The court gossip column in the *Cheltenham Looker-on* called Leslie 'a rival very much to be feared by Mr. Hayter',[56] which is

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[51] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 August 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 30 August 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 22 January 1840 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 20 December 2014.
[52] 2 RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 9 July 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.
[53] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 27 November 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.
[54] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 9 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 20 December 2014.
[55] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 August 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[56] *Cheltenham Looker-on*, 16 March 1839, 'Court gossip'.

borne out by Lord Melbourne's proclaiming Leslie to be 'the only Painter in this country now, for taste', while Hayter would 'never make a good painter'.[57] On 28 August Hayter viewed Leslie's picture, and although he thought many of the likenesses very good he was critical of the composition as a whole'.[58]

The scene chosen by Leslie was the administration of the sacrament to the Queen by the Archbishop of Canterbury. A shaft of light points the viewer's attention to Victoria, who is wrapped in the golden dalmatic robes. Blocks of red, gold, white, and black dominate the painting, creating a rich palette and further drawing attention to her person. Unlike Hayter, Leslie made a concerted effort to portray the surroundings as they were; the stalls, draperies, and figure groups making for strong horizontal lines that are disturbed by the placement of the Archbishop on raised steps, and the lowering of the Queen who kneels. Victoria also humbly inclines her head in spite of her decided refusal to be seen so doing in Hayter's painting. Her enthusiasm for this picture suggests that she was not troubled by the pose, which may be explained by its religious context.

Compositionally it is not dissimilar to Jacques Louis David's painting of the coronation of the Empress Joséphine by the Emperor Napoléon (figure 160). Both women kneel on steps, their ceremonial garb trailing behind them; each is ministered to by a powerful male figure, and is surrounded by her ladies dressed in silvery white, then by her courtiers at large. However, in David's image it is Napoléon who is the subject of the painting, placing his consort Joséphine's submissively bent head and somewhat obscured figure in a different light. Victoria, on the other hand, kneels but holds herself erect, retaining her authority and dignity while kneeling to receive the sacrament. The space around her, which contrasts with the ladies holding Joséphine's train, as well as the compositional devices that highlight her person, emphasize the Queen's independence and fitness for her role.

As fond as she had been of the picture, by October 1839, Victoria's enthusiasm was already waning, as she found it 'not…so pretty now as it was at first'.[59] In November, while at the establishment of the publisher Mr. Moon,

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[57] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 April 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[58] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 168.
[59] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 2 October 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

members of the press were able to view it and form their own opinions. While the *Morning Chronicle* called it the best Leslie had produced to date, praising the likenesses of the various portraits, *The Art Journal* disagreed, stating that 'as a series of portraits, its claims are not great: Mr Leslie is not a portrait painter'. This was not, however, viewed as a drawback, but proof of Leslie's great powers of imagination, a quality necessary for successful history painters.[60] The *Norfolk Chronicle* seems to have appreciated the same qualities, commenting on his '*largeness* of style' and 'striking effects', that were 'congenial to the principles of the highest school of art', or history painting, regardless of the demands of this particular subject.[61]

Both *The Athenaeum* and the *London Standard* proclaimed this the most excellent of all the paintings of the Coronation, praising the choice of this particular moment as being one in which the Queen was 'divested of her crown, jewels, and decorations, and having nothing by which her rank is marked but the Dalmatic robe'. This provided 'the best opportunity possible of painting a correct likeness, and a likeness that at the first glance convinces the spectator of its truth'.[62] Without these symbols of royalty, she was more easily seen and recognized, and was more accessible. The *Morning Chronicle* also saw the value of replicating a moment in which the Queen is 'not the Crowned and jewelled Princess, but the gentle girl, earnestly but humbly communicating with Him in whose hands is the fate of kings'. For this author, it was the chance to see 'Royalty subdued, and tempered by communion with a superior Being' that was so appealing.[63] Moon's pamphlet on the Privy Council picture contained a lengthy advertisement for an engraving of this painting as well. It focused on the equality between the Queen and her subjects in the eyes of God, captured in that moment and symbolized by her lack of royal accoutrements.[64] Casteras saw this presentation as one that would have 'endeared her to her subjects and potentially increased their loyalty to the crown'.[65]

Without wide opportunities for viewing and the production of derivatives, this result would not have been possible. In 1841, the Queen

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[60] *The Art Journal*, 15 December 1839, 183.
[61] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 11 March 1843, 'Fine Arts'.
[62] *The Athenaeum*, 3 November 1839; *London Standard*, 20 November 1839.
[63] *Morning Chronicle*, 22 November 1839.
[64] Moon, *The grand historical picture*, 13-14.
[65] Casteras, 'The wise child', 192.

granted her approval for the picture to be engraved by Samuel Cousins and printed by F. G. Moon (figure 161). By the autumn of 1842 it was available for purchase at the princely sum of £12 12s for prints with Dedication and £15 15s for proofs with Royal Arms and Title, the proofs before letters having already sold out.[66] The painting went on tour while the preparations for the engraving were being made. In January 1840, it was on display in Newcastle, in June it was in Yorkshire; in 1843 the painting went on tour again, and was on view in Manchester in February, and Norfolk in March before going on display at the Royal Academy exhibition in May, further widening its audience.[67]

Moon, who was working to create his Great Victoria Gallery, capturing the history and art of the Queen's reign, commissioned Edmund Thomas Parris, History Painter to Dowager Queen Adelaide, to paint the coronation with the aim of engraving it for his collection (figure 162). Although Victoria granted Parris a sitting, she mentioned this picture in her journal only once, and was far from complimentary. She wrote, '[…] went to look at his picture of the Coronation, in which there is not one good likeness and a great deal of bad drawing'.[68] One reason for Victoria's distaste for the image may be that Parris chose to depict the moment in which the crown was placed upon her head, the moment she specifically refused to have shown by Hayter. A further clue may be found in a review by the *Morning Chronicle*, which stated that 'in a work of

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[66] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 10 September 1842. These prices are significantly higher than those listed for the print of Hayter's coronation scene. For further information on the print trade in the nineteenth century, see: Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to print: the nineteenth-century engraving trade* (London, 1984); Antony Griffiths, *Prints and printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques* (London, 1996); and David McKitterick, *Print, manuscript, and the search for order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge, 2003).

[67] *Newcastle Journal*, 11 January 1840; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25 June 1840, 'Local intelligence'; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 11 February 1843; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 11 March 1843, 'Fine Arts'. For a further discussion of the public display of art, see Barbara Black, *On exhibit: Victorians and their museums* (London, 2000); Eric Gidal, *Poetic exhibitions: Romantic aesthetics and the pleasures of the British Museum* (Pennsylvania, 2001); David Carrier, *Museum scepticism: a history of the display of art in public galleries* (London, 2006); Jonah Siegel (ed.), *The emergence of the modern museum: an anthology of nineteenth-century sources* (Oxford, 2008), 79-133; and Elizabeth A. Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: entrepreneurs, connoisseurs and the public* (Farnham, 2011).

[68] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 4 April 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.

this kind, […] the strict fidelity of a portrait-painter is not to be expected, hardly to be desired. What may be called an historical resemblance is all that can be accomplished'.[69] Victoria, on the other hand, often noted the closeness of a likeness, and was disappointed whenever the image did not live up to her perception of the reality, as in the case of Wilkie's representation of Melbourne in the Privy council painting .[70]

The crowded grouping of officiators and attendants around the diminutive, seated Queen, who was dressed in white, is reminiscent of Wilkie's *First council* (figure 153). The connections between the two works are likely to have been noticed by the many who saw Parris's painting alongside Mr. Denning's watercolour copy of Wilkie's *First Council*, another picture that was engraved for Moon's Great Victoria Gallery, as they travelled to Manchester and Newcastle in May 1839; Windsor, Yorkshire, and Cumbria in June; and Derby in August.[71] The two pictures were displayed again in Leeds two years later, and Leicester the year after that.[72] Parris's coronation had also been on view in London at Moon's establishment at Threadneedle Street, and then at Colnaghi's on Pall Mall in April 1839, before being engraved for Moon by Charles Wagstaff (figure 163), with prints selling for the relatively reasonable price of £5 5s, proofs for £7 7s, and proofs before letters for £10 10s. The list of subscribers printed in Moon's booklet already included Victoria, the Queen Dowager, and the royals of Russia, France, Belgium, and Hanover.[73]

In the booklet Moon produced, he described Victoria in heavily gendered terms. He wrote of 'the young Queen; *so* young and frail, as it should seem, for the weight of dignity which is cast upon her', and suggested that 'the sensation in behalf of her tender years and sex would be almost one of pain, but for the

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[69] *Morning Chronicle*, 1 April 1839.
[70] For a sampling of further journal entries in which she puts an emphasis on likeness when discussing a painting, see: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 December 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 August 1839 (Princess Beatrice's copies); and RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 21 September 1843 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 20 December 2014.
[71] *Morning Chronicle*, 6 April 1839; *Morning Post*, 18 April 1839; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 27 April 1839; *Newcastle Courant*, 31 May 1839; *Windsor and Eton Express*, 1 June 1839; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 8 June 1839; *Carlisle Journal*, 15 June 1839; and *Derby Mercury*, 14 August 1839.
[72] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 13 March 1841; *Leicester Chronicle*, 23 July 1842.
[73] Francis Graham Moon, *The great national picture of the coronation of Queen Victoria…* (London, c.1838), 15-16.

array of moral strength and seeming assent of nations by which she is surrounded'.[74] Included in the back of Moon's publication are two poems written for the event, which reinforce the sentiments he expressed. The lines by T. K. Hervey include the words 'Be thine Eliza's queenly part / But with thine own sweet woman's heart', a direct reference to Elizabeth I's famous declaration that, in spite of her gender, she had the heart of a king.[75] Hervey here suggests that a successful female monarch was no longer required to adhere to the characteristics traditionally associated with masculinity, but could more fully embrace her femininity. This gendered monarchy, however, was not without its dangers. In the next poem, Mrs Riley exhorted her readers to 'Pray for your Queen! – She hath a woman's heart, / And woman's perils lurk upon her way'. While Hervey rhapsodized upon the 'angelic' version of mid-nineteenth century womanhood, Riley referred to woman's supposed weakness, highlighting the incompatibility of womanhood and powerful sovereignty.[76] Moon's aggressive promotion of the pictures for his gallery meant that Parris's image of the coronation, and the words that accompanied its engraving, reached wide and disparate audiences, and were linked in the eyes of many with Wilkie's painting, neither of which met Victoria's standards for approval.

One that did not even merit her mention or much notice from the press in spite of being listed by the *Art Journal* as one of the four main paintings of the coronation, was by John Martin (figure 164).[77] He had held the post of Princess Charlotte's drawing master, but was never made a member of the Royal Academy. A man of varied interests and an innovative mind, his bid to paint the coronation has been explained as a move towards widening his circle of patronage by acquiring further commissions based on the portraits he would

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[74] Moon, *The coronation of Queen Victoria*, 7-8, original emphasis.
[75] Strickland,. vii, 108, discussed further in chapter one (559).
[76] Moon, *The coronation of Queen Victoria*, n.p.
[77] For further work on John Martin, see J. Dustin Wees, *Darkness visible: the prints of John Martin* (Williamstown, 1986); Michael J. Campbell, *John Martin: visionary printmaker* (York, 1992); Barbara C. Morden, *John Martin: apocalypse now!* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2010); and Martin Myrone (ed.), *John Martin: apocalypse* (London, 2011).

necessarily include in this grand work.[78] Lord Melbourne called him 'a madman, but a great artist', but he merited little mention in Victoria's journal, other than the fact that he was to work on this picture.[79] Martin possessed a wide range of talents and a distinctive artistic vision, and those familiar with his work would have expected a different viewpoint from that offered by Hayter, Leslie, or Parris.

Martin chose to depict an episode from the giving of homage, when the elderly Lord Rolle fell while ascending the steps, and Victoria stepped over to help him.[80] Although this scene capitalized on the fervour for the Queen's beneficent nature and the lack of restricting ceremony in her behaviour, and, as noted by *The Era*, provided interest and animation, critics rarely gave the painting much notice.[81] The size of the figures relative to the canvas may go some way to explaining this, as *The Art Journal* complained that the majority of the picture was taken up by the architectural elements of the Abbey, with the personages portrayed almost seeming an afterthought at the bottom.[82] Martin, a skilled engraver, chose to replicate the image himself. The painting also went on tour, with the charge of admission to see it in Manchester being one shilling for an adult, and half price for a child.[83]

These pictures of the Queen's coronation differed both in form and in practice from those of her predecessors. William IV, who did commission a work to commemorate the occasion, chose not to have any point of the ceremony represented, but instead requested that animal painter Richard Barrett Davis create a nearly four-metre long frieze depicting his procession (figure 165). The King himself is barely discernable inside his carriage, which comes along nearly last. John Wootton had painted a similar image of George III (figure 166) seventy years earlier, possibly to record the first outing of the new

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[78] DNB, 'Martin, John': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18192?docPos=8, accessed 18 December 2013).
[79] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 26 June 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 February 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 20 December 2014.
[80] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 June 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[81] *The Era*, 28 July 1839.
[82] *The Art Journal*, 15 April 1839.
[83] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 11 January 1840.

state coach.[84] While both of these paintings show the king going about his business, neither presents the monarch to his people the way Victoria's coronation pictures did.

The Royal Collection does, however, have a picture of George IV being crowned (figure 167), much the way that his niece would be portrayed nearly twenty years later, although even this one was part of a series of images representing the procession. Compositionally similar to Parris's picture, the King is seated in the centre with his courtiers ranged to the sides and behind, while the Archbishop of Canterbury places the crown upon his head. Believed to be a preparatory work by an unknown artist for an engraving in Whittaker's 'Ceremony of the Coronation of George IV', it was not meant as a stand-alone work to be hung in royal hallways. Although the final print was included in John Whittaker's commemorative volume, only six copies were printed, and these were for the King's continental counterparts. The image did eventually enjoy wider dissemination through Sir George Nayler's volume on the coronation (figure 168), which was not published until 1837.[85]

It was not until Victoria's reign that the practice of recording significant monarchical moments, such as the coronation, with the intent of producing engravings for publication and sale truly took hold. The technology that allowed such capitalistic ventures to take place, including developments in the engraving and printing processes, as well as the lowering of taxes and improvements in paper that led to a boom in printed periodicals, which allowed for wider advertising, surely played a part. However, it is unlikely that the ideas would have been promoted without a perceived interest on the part of Victoria's subjects in representations of their Queen, especially those that would allow them to witness these seminal moments in her life, albeit from a distance and in a highly mediated form.

The pictures of Victoria's coronation, by their very nature, favoured the monarchical side of her image, just as the paintings of her marriage and of the christenings of her children necessarily laid emphasis on her femininity and

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[84] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/402002/george-iiis-procession-to-the-houses-of-parliament, accessed 24 November 2014.
[85] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1005090/ceremonial-of-the-coronation-of-his-most-sacred-majesty-king-george-the-fourth, accessed 24 November 2014.

maternity, although the political significance of the Queen's wedding to Prince Albert, and of the production of heirs, ensured that these images of familial ceremonies retained a monarchical relevance. The question of Victoria's marriage had long been a topic for discussion, and of planning, although as a newly crowned Queen she proved resistant to the idea.[86] Two years into her reign, however, the Queen fell in love with her cousin Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and he accepted her proposal on 15 October 1839. The event was noted in the *Literary Gazette*, and reprinted in the *Leamington Spa Courier*. The article detailed the ordeal the queen suffered not only in proposing to the Prince, but in announcing the engagement to the Privy Council. The article stated that Victoria had 'from her lofty station in the world, been of late rather curiously embarrassed for a lady under her peculiar circumstances', but also notes that she acquitted herself of it with equal *delicacy* and tact '.[87] This account emphasises the Queen's femininity and adherence to decorum, describing her as a woman who struggled with the demands her position placed on the enacting of her gender role, which she managed to maintain in spite of the difficulties that beset her.

The wedding, which took place on 10 February 1840 in the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, was a moment in which her two roles came together forcefully. Victoria's self-presentation on the day, and her representations in the paintings of it, are richly revealing of the blend of personas that she, and those around her, maintained in her image. Victoria's stern refusal to wear her state robes at the ceremony, as well as her delight in being referred to simply as Victoria in the recitation of the vows, illustrate her desire to experience the ceremony as a bride more than as a monarch.[88] Two days after the ceremony, Victoria recorded a conversation with Lord Melbourne in which they referred to Hayter's 'fine' Coronation picture, and decided to grant him the commission for the marriage picture as well (figure 169).[89] Hodgson, who was also

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[86] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 April 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.
[87] *Leamington Spa Courier*, 28 December 1839, original emphasis.
[88] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 19 December 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 February 1840 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 20 December 2014.
[89] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 February 1840 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 20 December 2014.

publishing the engraving of Hayter's coronation, purchased the copyright for the marriage picture for one thousand guineas, and commissioned Wagstaff to engrave it (figure 170).[90] Victoria sat for Hayter in her full wedding ensemble, 'dress, veil, wreath & all', but unfortunately her journal entries give little further information.[91]

Hayter's papers, however, offer considerable insight into the creation of this painting. According to his journal, he was invited to the ceremony and placed, by the Queen's command, near the side of the altar.[92] As he had for the coronation painting, Hayter prepared a variety of sketches and Victoria, Albert, and their entourage chose one on which he was to base the final picture.[93] In it, Prince Albert and Victoria stand at the centre of the image, with their hands joined before the Archbishop of Canterbury. The light comes from the windows high above, and shines full on the couple. Ranged behind them are a number of figures, including members of the Royal family and the inner court circle. The Archbishop stands behind the rail, the red velvet covering of which forms a curving line that leads the eye to Victoria, who wears an elegant white gown that reflects the light and catches the viewer's eye. Her insistence on presenting a mixture of her two main roles that day found expression in Hayter's painting, which the *Caledonian Mercury* praised for 'so finely blend[ing] the dignity of the Sovereign with the lovely simplicity of a young and interesting bride.[94]

Although there was a precedent for British royal marriages being commemorated in oils in that Sir Joshua Reynolds painted a sketch of George III's wedding in 1761 (figure 171) and both Henry Singleton and William Hamilton depicted George IV's marriage in 1795 (figures 172 and 173), not one of these images was commissioned by or purchased by the respective grooms. Reynolds had embarked on his image in a bid to win royal favour, and while he was made Principal Painter to the King in 1784, he was never awarded any

[90] Hayter, 21 February 1840, 26.
[91] This is probably due in part to Princess Beatrice's editing: see page 36.
[92] Hayter, 10 February 1840, 24. He painted himself in, apparently by the Queen's request, and can be seen at the far right edge. Hayter, 18 March 1842, 54.
[93] Hayter, 15 February 1840, 25.
[94] *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 November 1842.

commissions. The sketch of George III's wedding remained in Reynolds's possession, and was eventually purchased by Queen Victoria.[95]

Singleton's sketch of George IV's marriage to Caroline of Brunswick fared no better, possibly due in part to the deep animosity between the couple. Interestingly, Singleton had portrayed the wedding of Frederick, Duke of York, four years earlier (figure 174). Frederick, George III and Queen Caroline's second child, married Princess Frederica Charlotte of Prussia in 1791 and while they soon separated, the split was relatively amicable. Not only was this painting carried through to completion, unlike that of George IV, it was also engraved and published in 1797 (figure 175). Although Frederick was heir presumptive for much of his brother's reign, at the time the painting was created, it was still expected that George would marry and have children, so Frederick was unlikely to inherit the throne. While it was not, therefore, a picture of a current or expected future monarch, it did set a precedent in its replication and dissemination.

While Singleton's picture of George IV's wedding was not finished, let alone engraved, William Hamilton's painting of the event was commissioned with that intent. It was apparently George IV's sister, Princess Elizabeth, who suggested it, and Hamilton and Peltro William Tomkins were commissioned to paint and then engrave the work. However, the larger painting ended up in the collection of Madame Tussaud; it has since been destroyed, and no engravings survive.[96] The commissioning of artworks representing royal ceremony with the intention of engraving them was a practice that fully caught on during Victoria's reign, and the publicity surrounding Hayter's picture of her wedding is testimony to this. The painting itself (figure 169) was displayed at the establishment of Henry Graves on Pall Mall before moving on to Manchester, Leicester, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Carlisle, Birmingham, and Leeds, in a bid to drum up interest in the engraving (figure 170).[97] However, although the Queen

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[95] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404353/the-marriage-of-george-iii, accessed 15 November 2014.
[96] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404486/the-marriage-of-george-prince-of-wales-and-princess-caroline-of-brunswick, accessed 15 November 2014.
[97] *Morning Post*, 30 April 1842; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 11 June 1842; *Leicester Chronicle*, 23 July 1842; *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 November 1842; *Newcastle Journal*, 17 December 1842; *Carlisle Journal*, 17

had purchased the painting for the requested 1500 guineas, she decided against allowing it to be hung at the British Institution's annual exhibition.[98]

Following the birth of the Princess Royal, it was not Hayter, but Leslie who was appointed to paint the child's christening (figure 176) after successfully petitioning the Queen for the honour.[99] The ceremony was held in the Throne Room at Buckingham Palace on the evening of 10 February 1841, the first anniversary of Victoria and Albert's marriage. The review of this picture in *The Era* spoke of the interest this painting would hold, not only in regards to the private life of the royal family, but also for its 'interesting historical association'. On the private level, this picture was the first time many would have seen the royal infant, whose birth had been widely reported and the object of much curiosity. More interesting historically was the possibility that, if Victoria bore no sons, the Princess Royal would inherit the throne, as her mother had done. In his book of sonnets, W. C. Wimberley celebrated the child's birth, proclaiming, 'Breathes there who will not own / With pride, there lives an Heir to England's Throne?'[100] This would, of course, change with the birth of the Prince of Wales the next year, but at this point that was no certain event. The almost cautious level of formality in this painting, when compared to the Prince's christening, suggests that it was certainly hoped, if not expected, that a male child would eventually be born.

Like its predecessors, the coronation and the wedding, the event had brought together an impressive grouping of royalty, aristocrats, and statesmen. The figures are ranged around the silver-gilt lily font that had been made especially for the occasion, and took the place of the throne for the event. Leslie created a sense of action by portraying the moment in which the Queen Dowager, one of the infant Princess's sponsors, leans forward to name the child. Victoria, whose elegant simplicity in this image was praised by *The Era,*[101] wears white silk, as do all of the other women in the picture. Her gown had

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December 1842; *Birmingham Gazette*, 25 March 1844; and *Leeds Times*, 13 April 1844.

[98] Hayter, 20 April 1842, 54; Hayter, 13 January 1845, 89.

[99] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 December 1840 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 20 December 2014.

[100] W. C. Wimberley, *Sonnets on the coronation of her majesty queen victoria, &c.* (Doncaster, 1841), 43.

[101] *The Era*, 16 April 1843.

been made in a style similar to her wedding dress, and the lace flounce from her bridal gown had been attached to the skirt. She also wore her Turkish diamond necklace and earrings, and the sapphire and diamond brooch that had been a gift from Albert, as she had at her wedding.[102] The Queen and Prince Consort each wore the Garter sash, and while Albert was one among seven men to wear a ceremonial sash, Victoria was the only woman in the room to do so. Further separating her from the others, including her husband, was the diamond diadem that she wore, marking her as the British monarch.

However, it was not that which set her apart as queen that was noted by critics, but that which marked her as mother. *The Era* extolled the 'maternal tenderness beaming from her eyes', while the *Art Journal* spoke of 'the gracious and touching expression of her Majesty; […] the earnest hope, confiding trust, and unbounded love of the mother for the babe' shown in her portrait.[103] However, upon close inspection of the painting, it is Albert who looks toward the ceremony whereas Victoria gazes past the font, seemingly lost in thought. These reviewers worked to place the Queen within the constraints of a domestic ideology, and to emphasize her role as mother over that of sovereign, in spite of the detachment visible in the painting. The birth of a child and its presentation to the church, no matter the grandeur of the ceremony or the possible future role the child would play, created 'a connecting link between the cottage and the throne'.[104]

Critics, as well as members of the public, were able to see the painting at Moon's, who was having it engraved by H. T. Ryall (figure 177), before it went on tour, where it would be displayed in locations such as Leicestershire, Manchester, and Leeds.[105] The art critic for the *Morning Post* reported that it was 'a very elegant and graceful picture', in spite of the 'monotony of arrangement' required by 'so passionless a ceremony'. The critic pined for the days in which events provided proper fodder for historical painting, something

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[102] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 10 February 1841 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 20 December 2014.
[103] *The Era*, 16 April 1843; *The Art Journal*, 1 March 1843.
[104] *The Art Journal*, 1 March 1843.
[105] *Morning Post*, 10 April 1843; *Leicestershire Mercury*, 12 August 1843; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 02 September 1843; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 October 1843.

more elevated than marriages and christenings.[106] The reviewer at *The Era* was of quite the opposite opinion, describing the occasion as 'replete with interest' and 'endearing to every British bosom', while *The Art Journal* declared it 'the most interesting moment of [Victoria's] existence'.[107] The scene was outshone, however, when the Prince of Wales was christened.

The birth of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1841 meant that a male was once more heir to the throne, and the 'aberration' of a female ruler would most likely be bypassed. While the christening of Victoria, Princess Royal, had been grandly celebrated, her younger brother's ceremony was a much more formal affair, and one which Albert believed to be 'of the highest national interest' and which 'should be treated in the grandest style of art'.[108] Victoria, at first supporting this plan, later let her preference for a smaller image be known, much to the disappointment of Hayter, who was to paint the picture (figure 178), and Moon, who was to publish the engraving.[109] In spite of the diminished size, Albert still urged Hayter to focus on the scene, and to 'treat it as an historical picture, and not as a mere mass of portraits', a criticism that was often made of paintings of this kind.[110] According to the critic at the *London Daily News*, who saw the painting when it was displayed at Moon's, Hayter missed the mark. The picture was declared 'a mere conglomeration of portraits' with 'no scope for grandeur', largely due to the lack of action or thought conveyed.[111] The fact that the child being christened was the Prince of Wales was not enough to save the painting from the limitations imposed by the nature of the ceremony.

Although the *Morning Post* had complained of the mundane subject matter in the case of Leslie's painting of the christening of the Princess Royal, here, the 'intrinsic importance of the event illustrated' and 'the dignity of the associations by which it is surrounded' were sufficient for this event to be worthy of the genre of historical painting.[112] In Hayter's picture, the Queen and

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[106] *Morning Post*, 13 April 1843.
[107] *The Era*, 16 April 1843*; The Art Journal*, 1 March 1843.
[108] Hayter, 25 November 1842, 47.
[109] Hayter, 28 February 1842, 53; Hayter, 29 September 1842, 59; Hayter, 4-5 October 1842, 59.
[110] Hayter, 25 February 1842, 52.
[111] *London Daily News*, 21 April 1846.
[112] *Morning Post*, 20 April 1846.

Prince Consort wear their state robes, which they had refused to do at their wedding, and had chosen not to do at the first Christening. They also stand nearer the centre of the image, while the Archbishop and infant are farther to the right. Rays of light come through the windows, as they had in the coronation pictures, one highlighting Victoria, and the other the Prince of Wales, linking the two as Queen and heir and as mother and son.

The press was less interested in the child than in the representation of his mother, and, more importantly, her maternal qualities. The *London Daily News* complained that Victoria was staring into the distance, seemingly unaware of or uninterested in her son's christening, while she should have been 'tenderly and eagerly watching each movement of the child'. The author went on to argue that Hayter 'should have shown the mother more than the Queen, in his principal figure'.[113] Once again, the *Morning Post* took a more positive view, seeing in Hayter's portrayal of Victoria a commendable combination of 'the dignity of the Queen with that youthful loveliness, over which the artist has appropriately thrown its quiet air of half-matronly serenity'.[114]

Examination of the painting supports the claims of the *London Daily News*, and it is interesting that here the reviewer made this complaint considering *The Era's* reaction to the even more disconnected Victoria in the painting by Leslie. Instead of acknowledging the picture's flaw, the author instead chose to praise her display of maternal devotion, regardless of the visual evidence. A possible explanation for Hayter's positioning of the figures is found in his claim that he 'persuaded the Bishop of London that the chairs for the whole party should be turned so as to face the altar (Hayter was stationed to its left) so that he could gain a full view of their faces'.[115] It is probable that Hayter prioritised presenting a full view of the Queen to her subjects over showing her as participating in the scene. Victoria eventually chose not to purchase the painting, citing its overly large size,[116] although Oliver Millar has argued that it was simply because she did not care for the image.[117]

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[113] *London Daily News*, 21 April 1846.
[114] *Morning Post*, 20 April 1846.
[115] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 114.
[116] Hayter, Summary of 1844, 100.
[117] Millar, *Victorian pictures*, 115.

The wedding and christening paintings in which Victoria and her family featured illustrated the family business that was the monarchy, a notion current in the nineteenth century with respect to the Royal Family, and allowed many of her subjects a view of the event, and in a manner, an opportunity to participate. The demands on the Queen were many and varied, however, and she also spent a significant amount of time involved in diplomatic relations, concerned with interactions with other heads of state, and with her own subjects. The latter became particularly important as more monarchies fell to Republican movements, and Victoria and her ministers ensured that her subjects had the opportunity to see her in situations, such as marriages and christenings, that had direct parallels in their own lives.

In 1856, Jerry Barrett painted *Queen Victoria's first visit to her wounded soldiers* (figure 179),[118] recording her visit to the Brompton Hospital, Chatham, on 3 March 1855 to visit the sick and wounded soldiers who had recently returned from the Crimea. The significance of the occasion was recognised by the *Liverpool Mercury*, which wrote, 'we have no other royal instance of so thorough an interest in our wounded soldiers in the annals of British sovereigns'. The author went on to state that, 'The event here commemorated will live long in the memory of Englishmen, and will be pointed to in history and admired in this picture probably when many of the monarch [sic] of Europe have been driven from their thrones'.[119] This review suggests that the qualities visible in this painting, and the connection between Victoria and the group of her subjects on display here, were understood to be contributing factors to the strength and stability of the British monarchy. For *The Morning Herald*, the 'sympathy and affectionate interest' shown by the Queen exalted the dignity of the Crown, while the *Liverpool Mercury* praised Victoria's 'genuine English womanly heart', and the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* spoke of the 'womanly sympathy' and 'queenly regard' that had prompted Victoria's visit to her wounded soldiers.[120]

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[118] A viewing was held in Liverpool in December 1856, and the picture was engraved by Thomas Oldham Barlow and published by Thomas Agnew and Sons. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9 December 1856.
[119] *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 December 1856.
[120] *The Morning Herald*, 14 July 1856; *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 December 1856; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 18 October 1856.

In Barrett's image, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred stand near the centre of the painting, with George, Duke of Cambridge (1819- 1904) forming a part of their group.[121] Those who had accompanied the Queen were ranged behind them, nearly filling one side of the room, with the soldiers either on the beds or against the far wall. Each member of the Queen's entourage, as well as each of the soldiers, was an identifiable individual. The stories of the wounded were told in newspaper accounts of the visit and reviews of the painting, deepening the impact of the image. It was also widely reported that Victoria was so struck with Sergeant Breese, the soldier standing against the wall behind the Queen's party, that she appointed him a Yeoman of the Guard with a pension for life.[122]

Only the smaller, royal, group interacts at all with the patients, who are marked out by their inmate uniforms, as well as by Barrett's use of space and light. The sunlight that shines through the windows falls on the wall behind the soldiers who are confined to bed at the left, and in front of Sergeant Breese to the right. These patches of light have the bars from the window, which implies both their position as inmates after a manner, and ties them to reality. Another pool of light falls on Victoria, although this one comes from no discernable source, and does not have the distinct shape or pattern that results from the casement. Victoria appears in 'the ordinary out-door habiliments of an English gentlewoman', devoid of any markers of royalty and nearly indistinguishable from that of her ladies in waiting.[123] The blue of her skirts ties her visually to the coats worn by the soldiers, increasing the sympathy between the figures.

Victoria was, of course, not the first monarch to visit the sick and the wounded. From approximately the late eleventh/early twelfth century through the reign of Queen Anne, the monarch had taken on a direct role in healing through the 'royal touch', which was believed to cure a variety of diseases

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[121] The Duke of Cambridge had served as a Lieutenant General in the Crimea, leading a charge at Inkerman before being invalided home in November 1854. The Duke would succeed the much-maligned Lord Hardinge, also pictured, as Commander-in-chief in 1856. DNB, 'George, Prince, second Duke of Cambridge': http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33372?docPos=4, accessed 19 December 2013.

[122] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/eGallery/object.asp?exhibition=CRIMEA&object=2500154&row=6&detail=about, accessed 19 December 2013. *Aberdeen Journal*, 16 May 1855.

[123] *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 18 October 1856.

before being associated primarily with scrofula.[124] An engraving included in John Cassell's *Illustrated history of England*, published in 1859, shows Anne bestowing the royal touch on the young Samuel Johnson in 1712 (figure 180).[125] Elements of this tradition remained in the value ascribed to royal condescension to the sick and afflicted. In 1804, Antoine-Jean Gros had painted Napoleon Bonaparte visiting plague victims at Jaffa (figure 181), an image tied heavily to the idea of the royal touch, which had been practiced longer in France than in England.[126]

Almost a century later, Napoleon's history was revisited by Paul Emile Boutigny, who created a scene more closely allied to Barrett's painting of Victoria, in which he depicted Napoleon kneeling next to a wounded soldier on a stretcher (figure 182). Napoleon, appropriately for his gender, his position in the military, and his personal history of conquest, is shown in an open courtyard, littered with suffering soldiers, and apparently the site of crude medical operations. While Victoria's scene is set inside a clean room filled with ladies, gentlemen, and soldiers who are on the mend - Ulrich Keller has commented on the 'homely character' this gave to the scene – it was hung surrounded by battle scenes.[127] This suggests that, although Victoria's contribution to the war may not have taken place on the battle field as had that of many of her male predecessors, it was viewed in similar terms. The critic at *The Athenaeum* commented on this episode, or a similar one, in Napoleon's past, comparing it unfavourably to Victoria's efforts. Not only was Napoleon

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[124] For further information on the 'royal touch', see George Skinner, *A domestic treatise on scrophula* (London, 1831); Benjamin Phillips, F. R. S., *Scrofula; its nature, its causes, its prevalence, and the principles of treatment* (London, 1846); L. K. Gluckman, *Royal touch in England* (Wellington, 1971); Marc Bloch, *The royal touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France* (London, 1973); Martin Gosman et al (eds.), *Princes and princely culture, 1450-1650* (Leiden, 2003); and Ronald Asch, *Sacral kingship between disenchantment and re-enchantment: the French and English monarchies 1587-1688* (New York, 2014).

[125] William Howitt, *John Cassell's illustrated history of England* (London, 1859), 4, 172.

[126] Charles X was the last to attempt it: Bloch, 226-228.

[127] 'Buckingham Palace. Register of Pictures and Enamels. 1876' (RCIN 1112596), Royal Collection Trust, Surveyor's Office, St James's Palace, p.48 'no. 475 The Queen at Chatham Hospital 3 March 1855 Jerry Barrett … Purchased by Queen Victoria. March 1860'. According to the inventory, this work was hung in the Princesses Corridor immediately surrounded by Devis's *Death of Nelson* (1807) and *Death of Sir Ralph Abercomby* (after 1801).

'ostentatiously conscious' of the effect of his beneficence, but he was driven by a desire to gain further recruits for his diminishing army. Purer motives were ascribed to Victoria, motives that were centred on her identity of a 'tender-hearted woman' who acted 'not for ambition, but for duty'.[128]

These words could also have applied to Florence Nightingale, or at least the image of her that had become common currency after she and a small band of nurses sailed to the Crimea to work in the hospital at Scutari.[129] One year after Barrett painted Victoria, he created a pendant portrait of Nightingale at work (figure 183). The two images, which are the same size, now hang next to each other in the National Portrait Gallery, identically framed.[130] The compositional similarities are striking, the group in front of neutral walls being balanced by an opening to the outdoors, and with light falling on the main figure. Both were also commissioned by Agnew and Sons with the intent to publish engravings, and were exhibited together at Leggatt and Hayward, London, in 1858.[131]

The scene depicted by Barrett is the arrival of a group of soldiers being brought to the hospital for treatment and recovery. As stated by the *Liverpool Mercury*, 'it represents that lady engaged in the active duties of a capacity the assumption of which has engraven her name on the hearts of the nation'.[132] She stands at the centre of the painting, both literally and figuratively, and is bathed in light that does not touch her near neighbours, while she gives directions for the care of the soldier in front of her. Nightingale was well known for her refusal to dress to her station as the daughter of a wealthy London family, and a

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[128] *The Athenaeum*, 28 June 1856, 1496, 816.
[129] This highly positive portrayal of Florence Nighingale is reflected in the work of Cecil Woodham Smith. F. B. Smith later painted a far less flattering picture, which has since been refuted by scholars such as Mark Bostridge and Lynn McDonald. Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale 1820-1910* (London, 1950); F. B. Smith, *Florence Nightingale, reputation and power* (London, 1982); Mark Bostridge, *Florence Nightingale: the woman and her legend* (London, 2008); and Lynn McDonald, *Florence Nightingale at first hand* (London, 2010).
[130] The painting had been purchased from the artist by Thomas Agnew in 1857, then by Sir Edward Bates in 1859, from which point it was passed down in the family until it was purchased by the NPG via the Art Fund in 1993. http://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/4483/-jerry-barrett, accessed 24 February 2015.
[131] Notes on provenance contained in RP 6202 and 6203, Heinz Archive; *The Era*, 30 May 1858.
[132] *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 December 1858.

critic lamented the fact that 'it was unfortunate, yet unavoidable, to have to represent the heroine in dull, sober colours; to plait her dress so meagrely, and to pinch up her tight prim cap'.[133] Yet, Nightingale's sartorial simplicity acted as a visual reminder of the seriousness of her mission, and of her intent to carry it out.

Victoria, whose participation was restricted to a more passive role, sympathised with the sense of mission that drove Nightingale. She stated, 'I envy her being able to do so much good & look after the noble brave heroes'.[134] These paintings linked two extraordinary women in the minds of the nineteenth-century public, both through the visual similarities between them, and their juxtaposition while on exhibition, or in their engraved form. Victoria, whose easily recognizable face was enough to proclaim her queen, was here shown in the guise of sympathetic woman, whose concern for the troops found a counterpart in the works of Florence Nightingale.

Britain's involvement in the Crimean War may have introduced Victoria and Albert to exceptional subjects such as Nightingale, but it also brought them closer to some of their fellow monarchs, France's Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie in particular. In April 1855 the French sovereign paid Victoria a visit, which the Queen, Prince Consort, and their two eldest children returned that August.[135] The diplomatic importance of this friendship, and of the interest these two couples held in the eyes of many prompted Edward Matthew Ward (1816-1879) to ask permission to create a painted record of the events as they unfolded.[136] Ward's rendering of Napoleon III's investiture with the Order of the Garter (figure 184) and his picture of Victoria's visit to the tomb of Napoleon I (figure 185) were exhibited together at the Royal Academy in 1858. In the first image, Victoria is in the midst of placing the Garter ribbon across the Emperor's uniform, performing an office that was the right of the monarch alone. She is dressed in her Garter robes, wearing the diamond diadem and

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[133] *The Athenaeum*, 29 May 1858, 1596, 693.
[134] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 8 December 1854 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 20 December 2014.
[135] The Boutibonne portraits that resulted from this visit were discussed in chapter three (128-133).
[136] http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/402020/the-investiture-of-napoleon-iii-with-the-order-of-the-garter-18-april-1855, accessed 14 January 2014.

presenting herself unmistakably as queen. Although she is placed at the centre of the action by her location in the image and by her physical motion, she is more prominent in the second image, in which she is dressed not as monarch but as wealthy tourist, admiring the tomb of the man her country's army had once vanquished.

The *London Daily News* gave precedence to the picture of the investiture, lauding Ward for commemorating an affair of the present with as much gravitas as historians covered matters of the past.[137] The *Morning Post*, while commending the historical value of both pictures, declared the painting of Victoria's visit to the tomb as 'entitled to rank as higher, because a more ideal, work of art'.[138] For these critics, the categorization of the works, and the possibility of portraying contemporary events in the style of historical painting, was a more interesting question than the appearance of the Queen herself. Combining the demands of portraiture with the traditions of historical painting, and thus allying Victoria with the more customary, male, subjects of the genre, created a visual record of the events portrayed and those who participated in them, while bestowing a heightened grandeur upon recent events in Victoria's reign.

The responses of contemporary critics to Victoria's portraits in action highlight two points that are central to their interpretation. First, the discussion of the genre classification is of interest, in that the tendency to place these pictures within the category of historical pictures places them alongside the predominantly masculine pictures of the heroic deeds of antiquity, and the moral episodes recounted in scripture. Second, these works were often viewed in terms of their representation of the performance of Victoria's gender role, preferring it to her sovereignty. In some cases, such as Hayter's painting of the christening of the Prince of Wales, the picture was directly criticised for not emphasizing the Queen's maternity sufficiently, and laying too much emphasis on her status as monarch.

The active exhibiting of these works on tour, and the publication and sale of engravings, means that the pictures themselves, and the debates they incited, reached a much wider audience than those who would have seen the

[137] *London Daily News*, 3 May 1858.
[138] *Morning Post* 9 April 1858.

paintings in their permanent setting. The invitation to the public to engage in these debates by viewing the pictures themselves was made more immediate by the chance it afforded them to act, in a sense, as witnesses to the events portrayed. By opening scenes of her life, ranging from events of monarchical ceremony to family occasions, and interactions with both fellow sovereigns and her subjects, to public viewing, Victoria created the sense of a connection between herself and her subjects, which further contributed to the strengthening of her place on the throne.

Another form of Victoria's portraiture that invited public participation is that of sculpture. Often large in scale and placed in public areas, it afforded a level of access to the original work that was unprecedented by the other portraits discussed so far in this thesis, and will be examined at length in the next chapter.

Chapter 6
Immortalized in three dimensions:
Queen Victoria's sculptural portraits

In January 1839, Lord Melbourne recounted to Queen Victoria a conversation he had had with the Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey (1781-1841), Britain's most eminent sculptor,[1] regarding the different challenges faced by painters and sculptors. Chantrey argued that sculptors 'were obliged to produce by shadow what painters do by colours'. He further complained that, although sculptors were usually given fewer sittings than painters, 'they *ought* to have more. But, he said, 'Sculptors are generally cleverer fellows than Painters'.[2] The number of sittings required for a recognizable likeness, and the lack of colour, were not the only restraints inherent to sculpture. The need for the statue to support its weight necessitated careful planning, and, often, close grouping of any additional objects included in the composition. The structural necessities would, of course, depend upon the materials chosen, for which there were a number of options including different types of stone, wood, ivory, porcelain, or plaster. The lack of a background further limited the number and placement of accoutrements, and all of this was complicated by the fact that the work might be seen in the round, or need to fit into an existing design. For busts, the restrictions were even more extreme. The image was reduced to headpiece and hairstyles, jewellery, what little clothing could be seen, facial expression, and the shape of the head. With little room for manoeuvre, a number of sculptors took on the task of representing the Queen, filtering her image through the gendered and historical traditions for sculpture, both bust and full length. I will argue that the limitations of the genre highlight the ways in which artists experimented, puzzling out how to adapt the existing traditions to represent their young, female queen.[3]

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[1] Chantrey has been referred to as Canova's British rival. Scherf, 27.
[2] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[3] For references on the sculpted portrait, see footnote 52.

Sculpture was, at this time, dominated by the legacy of the antique. Western European collections of Greek and Roman works had been growing since the sixteenth century; in 1543, Francis I of France had decorated the gardens of Fontainebleau with a selection of bronzes taken from casts of antique originals, and, according to Jonathan Scott, these derivatives were considered more valuable than original works by Raphael and Titian that were also in the collection.[4] Philip IV of Spain sought out bronze copies of antique statuary to add to his collection in 1650, and while Henry, Prince of Wales began a collection in 1612, the mania for the antique did not fully grip Britain until the eighteenth century, at which point sculptural busts became standard fixtures in libraries.[5] Barbara Arciszewska has argued cogently for George I's clear appreciation of 'the importance of sculpture as a tool of political persuasion and social negotiation', and has discussed his interest in the antique.[6]

The enjoyment of antique sculpture was not restricted to royalty – from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth, the Grand Tour was a rite of passage for upper-class young men. Although Greece was not a standard stop on the itinerary, Rome was obligatory.[7] Here, Britain's upper and upper middle classes not only became familiar with the art and architecture of the ancients,

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[4] Jonathan Scott, *The pleasures of antiquity: British collection of Greece and Rome* (Connecticut, 2003), 5.

[5] Scott, *The pleasures of antiquity*, chapter four: the heyday of collecting, 85-113. See also Coltman, *Classical sculpture*; Rune Frederiksen and Eckhart Marchand (eds.), *Plaster casts: making, collecting, and displaying from classical antiquity to the present* (New York, 2010); and Ruth Guilding, *Owning the past: why the English collected antique sculpture, 1640-1840* (New Haven, 2014). Regarding busts in libraries, see Malcolm Baker, 'The portrait sculpture', in David McKitterick, *The making of the Wren Library* (Cambridge, 1995), 110-132.

[6] Barbara Arciszewska, 'Re-casting George I: sculpture, the royal image and the market', in Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington (eds.), *The lustrous trade: material culture and the history of sculpture in England and Italy, c. 1700-c. 1860* (London, 2000), 27-48.

[7] For works on the Grand Tour, see: Christopher Hibbert, *The grand tour* (London, 1987); Edward Chaney, *The evolution of the grand tour: Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance* (London, 1998); Sicca and Yarrington (eds.), *The lustrous trade*; Michael G. Brennan (ed.), *The origins of the Grand Tour: the travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville, William Hammond, Banaster Maynard* (London, 2004); and Lester Borley (ed.), *The grand tour and its influence on architecture, artistic taste and patronage…* (Scotland, 2008). The following travel account is also of interest here, although it is not a traditional Grand Tour: Tom Beswick, *Chronicles of a journey, 1839-1840…* (1997).

but also formed lasting networks with other tourists they met on their travels. The Society of Dilettanti was formed in the 1730s, originally as a dining society, but by the mid-eighteenth century the group was actively sponsoring studies of ancient art, promoting the Royal Academy of Arts and the British Museum, and taking political action to support their cause.[8] The Society also published large volumes with high quality engravings, documenting the collections in Britain.[9] Although the fervour for collecting Greek and Roman examples of statuary and the tradition of the Grand Tour peaked in the eighteenth century, both continued into the nineteenth. Prince Albert spent the winter of 1838-39 in Italy, and commissioned copies of antique sculpture as gifts for Victoria throughout their marriage.[10]

Albert Boime has suggested that, by the nineteenth-century, it was through the 'vacant stare, idealized pose, and monochromatic marble or stone surface' adopted from ancient sculpture that both 'the sculptor and the official public recognized sound, qualitatively superior achievement'.[11] In spite of the near ubiquity of the classically inspired marble portrait bust in nineteenth-century Britain, it was not a form commonly used for portraits in ancient Greece, where the herm (figure 186) – a carved head emerging out of a plinth – was common.[12] The prevalence of heads that had been broken off complete statues may have misled many excavators and grand tourists alike into

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[8] Jason M. Kelly, *The society of dilettanti: archaeology and identity in the British enlightenment* (London, 2009), xii. For further work on the collecting of antique sculpture in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain, see Viccy Coltman, *Fabricating the antique: neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago, 2006); Coltman, *Classical sculpture*; and Viccy Coltman, *Making sense of Greek art* (Exeter, 2012).

[9] The Society of the Dilettanti, *Specimens of antient sculpture, Aegyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman: selected from different collections in Great Britain* (London, 1835).

[10] See, for example, http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/41341/ceres; http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/34681/atys; and http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/40119/euterpe, each accessed 10 February 2014. For further information on sculpture in Britain leading up to and in this period, see Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830* (London, 1988); and Malcolm Baker, *Figured in marble: the making and viewing of eighteenth-century sculpture* (London, 2000).

[11] Albert Boime, *Hollow icons: the politics of sculpture in nineteenth-century France* (London, 1987), 5.

[12] Sheila Dillon, *Ancient Greek portrait sculpture: contexts, subjects, and styles* (Cambridge, 2006), 33.

believing that sculpting a head in this manner was historically accurate. It may have been further reinforced by the fact that, while it was rare in marble, bronze busts were customary.[13]

Richard Jenkyns has suggested an additional reason for the interest in antique sculpture in this period, the correlation between ancient statuary and mid-nineteenth century ideals of womanhood as noted by poet Algernon Charles Swinburne and painter Frederick Clive Newcome. In reaction to George Frederic Watt's painting *The wife of Pygmalion* (c. 1868), Swinburne exclaimed that 'such should be the Victorian wife, and such would be a Greek statue come to life'. Speaking of the Venus of Melos, Newcome declared, 'Wert though alive, O goddess, thou shouldst never open those lovely lips but to speak lowly, slowly: though shouldst never descend from that pedestal but to walk stately to some near couch, and assume another attitude of beautiful calm'.[14] Intriguing though this connection may be, classicized portraiture, as opposed to sculptures of the ideal, was overwhelmingly the province of men, with relatively few women being represented in this style. This was in no small part due to the public nature of the medium, which, as Malcolm Baker has stated, was heightened and made more authoritative by its association with the antique. He further argued that, while this applied to sculpture in general, it was particularly true of the bust format.[15] Guilhem Scherf has tied the cult of public memory to the 'burgeoning of individuality in public social spaces', which was epitomized by sculpture.[16] The growing emphasis on correct likeness, even when 'transcribed' through visual 'quotations' from antiquity, caused a new kind of artistic endeavour, which differed from earlier sculpture in the years leading up to Victoria's reign.

Roman and Greek sculptures were not, however, the only influences on contemporary works. Although mostly strongly associated with Catholicism, the head-shaped reliquary would have been a familiar sight to many in

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1980), 144.
[15] Malcolm Baker, 'The portrait after the Antique' in Norman Rosenthal et al, *Citizens and Kings: portraits in the age of revolution 1760-1830* (London, 2007), 212-14. See also Malcolm Baker, 'Public images for private spaces? The place of sculpture in the Georgian domestic interior', *Journal of design history*, 20. 4 (2007), 309-323; and] Baker, *The marble index*.
[16] Scherf, 25.

nineteenth-century Britain, as they were not only displayed in church shrines but also in museums. Reliquaries, which held pieces of saints' bodies between the head and the breast were often sculpted as busts, were made in a variety of materials, ranging from precious metals to clay.[17] A fine example from the late twelfth century is the reliquary of St Eustace, which the British Museum acquired in 1850 (figure 187). While the practice slowed after the Reformation, and the majority of nineteenth-century sculpture busts had little to do visually with these reliquaries, it is possible that some of the sanctity of these head forms was transferred to the newly created public busts.

Another similar form that certainly had a place in the mid-nineteenth century mind was the phrenological bust (figure 188). Phrenology was developed by Franz Joseph Gall and Johann Gaspar Spurzheim in Germany at the turn of the nineteenth century, and was established in the United Kingdom by George Combe, who was based in Edinburgh and began publishing on the subject in 1818.[18] According to the basic tenets of phrenology, the 'external form of the head in a healthy individual, is an index of the form of the brain', distinct portions of which correlated to separate mental capacities. Size was also a determining factor. To simplify a complex matter, adherents to this theory believed that the physical shape of the cranium indicated an individual's

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[17] For further information on reliquaries, see: Kilian Anheuser (ed.), *Medieval reliquary shrines and precious metalwork…* (London, 2006); and Seeta Chaganti, *The medieval poetics of the reliquary: enshrinement, inscription, performance* (New York, 2008).

[18] Combe's early essays, first published in *The Scots Magazine* in 1817 and the *Literary and Statistical Magazine for Scotland* in 1818, were reprinted in a collection the following year: George Combe, *Essays on phrenology…* (London, 1819). Combe went on to write a number of works on te subject, including the following: George Combe, *Elements of phrenology* (London, 1824); and George Combe, *The constitution of man considered in relation to external objects* (Edinburgh, 1828). For a sampling of further contemporary works on phrenology, see: W. C. Engledue, M.D., *Some account of phrenology, its nature, principles, and uses* (Chichester, 1837); John Taylor, *Phrenology simplified* (London, 1840); and *Thoughts on phrenology: or, phrenology tested by reason and revelation. By a Barrister of the Middle Temple* (London, 1841). For more recent discussion, see Charles Colbert, *A measure of perfection: phrenology and the fine arts in America* (London, 1997); John Van Wyhe, *Phrenology and the origins of Victorian scientific naturalism* (Aldershot, 2004); Stephen Tomlinson, *Head masters: phrenology, secular education, and nineteenth-century social thought* (Tuscaloosa, 2005); David Stack, *Queen Victoria's skull* (London, 2008); and Sharrona Pearl, *About faces: physiognomy in nineteenth-century Britain* (London, 2010).

character and capacities.[19] Busts were used to map the different areas of the brain with their corresponding characteristics. Those interested in furthering their study beyond the available literature would sometimes take to the streets to observe passers-by.[20]

This interest extended to works of art, and journals on the topic were filled with discussions of both paintings and sculpture. An article in *The phrenological journal and magazine of moral science*, published in 1838, gave the following warning:

> Our readers in the country will probably be looking with phrenological eyes upon some of the many prints sold as portraits of her Majesty. […] we have to caution our phrenological friends not to rely upon it too implicitly in their cranioscopical estimates, as we are informed […] that after the likeness was secured to the satisfaction of the artist, in the original painting or drawing, some slight alterations were made, by the express desire of her Majesty; the effect of these changes being an increase to the apparent size of the intellectual organs in the upper part of the forehead.[21]

Victoria was evidently interested in the topic, recording multiple conversations on the subject over dinner with various guests.[22] She also invited Combe to read the heads of the Princess Royal and Princess Alice, and to consult on the education of the Prince of Wales.[23]

Like the head-shaped reliquary, the phrenological bust did not lend much to sculpture in the way of form, but being so common, it may have had an influence on the conception of three-dimensional portraiture. The idea that a person could be known through a close examination of the head may have coloured the perception of those who viewed the works discussed in this

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[19] Engledue, 1-5.
[20] John Gage, 'Busts and identity' in Curtis et al, *Return to life*, 45-46.
[21] *The Phrenological Journal and Magazine of Moral Science*, 11 (1838), 439. For a further discussion of phrenology and the arts, see George Combe, *Phrenology applied to painting and sculpture* (London, 1855); and M. C. Cowling, *The artist as anthropologist: the representation of type and character in Victorian art* (Cambridge, 1989).
[22] See, for example: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 November 1850 (Princess Beatrice's copies); and RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 27 July 1854 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 22 November 2014. Victoria's physician-extraordinary, Henry Holland, included a chapter on phrenology in his medical treatise. While he was open to some of the theory's tenets, he spent most of the chapter laying out his arguments against it. Henry Holland, *Medical notes and reflections* (London, 1840), second edition, chapter twenty-nine.
[23] Stack, 175-6.

chapter, regardless of their stance on the theory itself. It is certainly the case that much was expected of these sculptures, and that they were integral in creating an image for the new queen, one that set her apart from the men and women around her, and from her recent predecessors.

Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey had the rare opportunity to sculpt from life the busts of four of Britain's monarchs.[24] Beginning with a bust of George III in 1809, he went on to sculpt George IV in 1821, William IV in 1830, and Victoria in 1838. In spite of the number of royal portraits Chantrey had already created, he admitted to experiencing anxiety when it came to portraying the Queen.[25] Lord Melbourne told Victoria that 'He is very nervous about Your Majesty's bust; he says there are always such expectations raised, and that it is so difficult to satisfy'.[26] The problems Chantrey faced in producing a suitable image for the new monarch were compounded by her sex and age. In the years between Victoria's accession in 1837 and Chantrey's death in 1841, forty-six commissions are noted in Chantrey's ledger.[27] Out of these, only seven represented women: four were monuments, only two of which were carried

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[24] For further information on Chantrey, see the following: George Jones, *Sir Francis Chantrey; recollections of his life, practice, and opinions* (London, 1849); A. J. Raymond, *Life and work of Sir Francis Chantrey* (London, 1904); Harold Armitage, *Francis Chantrey, donkey boy and sculptor* (London, 1915); Alex Potts, *Sir Francis Chantrey 1781-1841: sculptor of the great* (London, 1980); Clyde Binfield (ed.), *Sir Francis Chantrey: sculptor to an age 1781-1841* (Sheffield, 1981); S. Dunkerley, *Francis Chantrey, sculptor: from Norton to knighthood* (Sheffield, 1995).

[25] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[26] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 14 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Victoria wrote of Chantrey's nervousness about the bust three more times before its completion. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 19 January 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 5 March 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 22 November 2014.

[27] Chantrey left behind three ledgers. One, which is in the collection of the Royal Academy of Arts, was not begun until at least 1813, but the entries date back to 1809, and contain notes through 1841, including at least two after Chantrey's death. There is another in the collection of the British Library, with entries from 1809 to 1823. A third is held by the Derby Local Studies Library, and dates to 1810, with entries ranging beginning in 1814. In 1994, the Walpole Society published a heavily annotated edition of the ledger, based on the version at the Royal Academy of Arts. Alison Yarrington et al, *An edition of the ledger of Sir Francis Chantrey, R. A., at the Royal Academy, 1809-1841* (Leeds, 1994).

out,[28] and three were busts, each of which represented Victoria. In his entire career, he sculpted portrait busts of less than a dozen women, and was far less confident in portraying the female form than the male.

Of the three busts of Victoria mentioned in the ledger, the first (figure 189)[29] remained in the Royal Collection, the second (figure 190) was given to Sir Robert Peel around the time of Victoria's visit to Drayton Manor in 1846, possibly as a peace offering, and the fate of the third is debated.[30] Victoria had come into conflict with Peel in 1838, resulting in the infamous Bedchamber Crisis, and it was not until after her marriage to Prince Albert, who worked to raise the Queen above party politics, that her relationship with Peel improved.[31] The two busts are identical save for seven small pearls that are included in the tiara in the Windsor version, but are omitted from the bust given to Peel. While this is a somewhat insignificant change in and of itself, it does provide a guide when determining from which bust derivative copies were made.

Chantrey portrayed the Queen wrapped in robes that tie at centre front, angled to emphasize one shoulder. Its ample, complicated folds and flaccid bow are testament to the artist's skill, but do not represent the reality of either Victoria's coronation robes or her state robes, which attached at her shoulders

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[28] The two that were fulfilled were for Harriot Mellon Coutts, Duchess of St Albans (1837, 285b in Chantrey's ledger), and Isabella Read Lyons (1840, 305b). The two that were not carried out were for Frances Molesworth, Marchioness of Camden (1837, 282b), and the Princess Sombre (1838, 291a). Additionally, some monuments are recorded as having included female figures, although these were ideal types, not portraits. For example, the monument for Colonel Cadogans in Chelsea church (1814-15, 32a) included female mourning figures, as did the monuments for Lord Ellenborough (1822, 63a) and William Mason Smith (1839, 304a).

[29] Marble is notoriously difficult to photograph, and so while effort has been made to obtain the best images possible, many are less than ideal for a close examination.

[30] The annotated ledger suggests that it may have arrived in the collection of Dunrobin Castle through the hands of the Duchess of Sutherland, Victoria's Mistress of the Robes at the time. However, the Royal Treasures Exhibition Catalogue states that it was sent to her father-in-law Ernest I, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, at the Furstenbau in the Veste Coburg. Jane Roberts (ed.), *Royal treasures: a golden jubilee celebration* (London, 2002), 145.

[31] For a further discussion of this topic, see page 158. According to the auction catalogue in which the piece was advertised, it was 'presented to The Rt. Honble. Sir Robet Peel, Bart., Prime Minister, after her stay at Drayton Manor, Tamworth, 1846': Heinz Archive RP 1716.

and were open down the centre front. Visible at her left shoulder and in the open space below the ties is her Garter sash, and the star is affixed to her outer garment. She presumably wears a modern gown underneath, although only a hint of the neckline is visible. While each of these elements is suggestive of modern garments that would have been worn by the queen, the robes are reminiscent of the drapery commonly seen on ancient statuary. This choice allowed Chantrey to work within the common practice of portraying women in contemporary dress, while allying her with her male counterparts, including her grandfather, uncles, and husband, who were generally shown in variations of antique drapery (figures 191-194).[32]

Victoria's tiara, with its scalloped edge and a small coronet at the front, appears to have been the creation of Chantrey, and is particularly interesting in its double assertion of royalty, and of femininity. The combination of the tiara and the crown, one piece worn by wealthy women and one worn by monarchs, underscores her situation. Her eyes are vacant, in line with early Roman busts, and her lips are lightly parted, which was a common feature of her portraits.[33] The combination the tiara, the riband, and the robes make for a forceful reminder of her position, one not deemed necessary in the busts of the three preceding monarchs.

In Chantrey's preparatory sketches (figures 195 and 196), now in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, Victoria appears younger and considerably more vulnerable than she does in the completed bust. Her dress, modest and unassuming, has little to no connection to what she wears in the finished product, supporting the idea that her ensemble was of Chantrey's own design. He may have used items that she owned for reference, but does not seem to have done so, as there are no records of a tiara of that fashion, and the robes she wears in various paintings do not correspond with those on the bust. While the sketches capture her youth and humanity, and are notable for their lack of luxurious fashion and royal insignia, the bust radiates royal dignity.

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[32] While there are a number of examples of women in fanciful drapery, the majority are wearing modern dress. This is not the case with the men, who are almost all shown in antique garb or plain, draped material.
[33] Scherf, 35; Gage, 45-46.

Victoria and Melbourne thought it 'very like', 'perfect' and 'beautifully done'.[34] The *Art Union* also responded positively, praising its gracefulness and beauty.[35] The bust gained a wide audience when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1840, and as had been the case for Chantrey's bust of George IV, it was replicated not only in marble and plaster, but also in engravings, on coins and medals, and in a bronze reduction that was shown at the Great Exhibition in 1851.[36] The bronze (figure 197) was made by Thomas Thornycroft, son-in-law and student of John Francis, who had in turn been a student and employee of Chantrey's. The bust was also engraved, and published in the *Art Union* of London in 1849 (figure 198). As both the bronze and the engraving have pearls in the diadem, they were most likely copied from the Windsor version.

Additionally, a copy of Chantrey's bust by John Francis (figures 199 and 200) is in the collection at Mansion House, displayed alongside one of Prince Albert by the same artist (figure 201), also a copy. The bust of Victoria, presumably erroneously dated 1837 as Victoria first spoke of her intention to sit to Chantrey in 1838,[37] lacks pearls in the diadem, suggesting that it was copied from the version eventually given to Sir Robert Peel. The sheer number of derivatives made from this design suggest that it was viewed as an appropriate amalgamation of the Queen's two main roles, those of woman and monarch.

One of the few other women whom Chantrey portrayed, and who provides a revealing comparison, is Mary Somerville, whose bust he carved in 1832 (figure 202). Its existence demonstrates the types of roles that women had to assume in order to be deemed worthy of such a portrayal. Busts were most often reserved for women who had adopted men's roles, such as monarch, in the case of Victoria, or acclaimed scientist and mathematician, in the case of Somerville. The sitter's role generally had to be within the 'public' sphere before she was accounted worthy of a traditionally public form of art, painting being much the preferred method of capturing a middle-class or aristocratic

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[34] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 April 1839 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 February 1840 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 22 November 2014.
[35] *Art Union*, 15 June 1840.
[36] Marsden, 58.
[37] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 14 October 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

woman's likeness. Chantrey's preparatory sketch of Somerville (figure 203) shows that he simplified both the costume and the hairstyle, replacing the ruff with a wide, flat collar, and relaxing the curls. Her appearance remains resolutely contemporary, and contains no markers of her accomplishments. However, as he had in Victoria's portrait, he idealized her features and endowed her with a dignity not readily apparent in the sketch.

Chantrey's portrayal of Mary Somerville in contemporary clothing highlights the references to antiquity and monarchy in Victoria's ensemble. While still far from the classicized garb of her male predecessors, Victoria is situated outside of the traditions of feminine portrayal. She is further set apart by the emphasis on her role as sovereign. Unlike her royal grandfather and uncles, her position is announced through her accoutrements. This is possibly the result of Chantrey's insecurity as to how else to properly portray the young woman's status, for which he did not have a useful precedent. Queen Victoria herself was still working out how to be queen, and this bust was designed around the time of two debacles resulting from errors of judgment on her part: The Bedchamber Crisis in 1838 and the Lady Flora Hastings scandal in 1839. While her reputation recovered fairly quickly, it may have been deemed useful for her sovereignty to be visually reinforced, and the exhibition and publication of the bust aided in this effort.

Henry Weekes, who was employed in Chantrey's studio at the time, gave another perspective on the young queen in 1837 (figures 204 and 205), intended as a Christmas gift for her mother.[38] Victoria described it as 'very like and beautifully done', and Lord Melbourne deemed it 'very like, and very pretty'.[39] This version is relatively unusual as Victoria wears no tiara, crown, or diadem. Weekes has given the front sections of her hair a slight wave, with a flattering effect, and has softened the severity of the bun by adding a cascade of curls coming out of it. The Queen's features are prettified and standardised, but still recognizable.

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[38] S. Dunkerley, 118. Very little work is available on Weekes, leaving the researcher to pick up pieces from the works on and by other artists to whom he was connected. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 24 December 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[39] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 22 December 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 30 March 1838 (Lord Esher's typescripts). Each retrieved 22 November 2014.

Although the fabric across her left shoulder is a clear nod to the drapery on the more traditional classically inspired sculpture busts, Victoria's gown is based on contemporary fashions. In one of the lectures Weekes addressed to the students of the Royal Academy, he took the opportunity to warn against the 'total throwing aside of all costume of the period, and the adopting of that notion of classicality which is supposed to exist in antique drapery.' He suggested that the practice of dressing the figure anachronistically detracted from the unity of the head and body, and thus the impact of the sculpture.[40] Visible underneath her drapery is the collar of the Order of the Garter, placed across her body as though it were the sash, signifying her position while at the same time giving more visual interest than would the plain fabric band.

Carved at the beginning of her reign and before her marriage, the angle of her head, her soft expression, and the small curls by her ears highlight her youth and femininity. This representation of the Queen is reminiscent of the style of engravings included in the *Court Album* and *Heath's Book of Beauty*, each of which featured portraits of the beautiful young ladies of the aristocracy, Victoria included.[41] Instead of highlighting her queenship, as Chantrey had, the focus was on her gender and youth, characteristics often associated with vulnerability and dependence as opposed to the masculine power traditionally allied with the Crown. Some scholars, such as Margaret Homans, have suggested that Victoria and her ministers purposely emphasized her feminine qualities to make her seem a safe ruler over the increasingly constitutionalized monarchy.[42]

In his first original bust of Victoria (figure 206), John Francis (1780-1861) took a similar tack to Weekes in that he did not present her overtly as

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[40] Henry Weekes, R.A., *Lectures on art, delivered at the Royal Academy, London* (London, 1880), 214-15. Weekes held the post of Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy from 1868 to 1876. The other side of the argument was represented by Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose opinion Weekes also quoted in his discourse. In his fifth discourse delivered to the students at the Royal Academy of Arts, Reynolds declared that 'The simplicity of the antique air and attitude, however much to be admired, is ridiculous when joined to a figure in modern dress'. John Burnet, F. R. S. (ed.), *The discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London, 1842), 87.

[41] For a further discussion of these publications and portraits, see pages 81-82.

[42] Margaret Homans, *Royal representations*, xx.

queen.[43] In 1841, Francis had been commissioned to sculpt a bust of Victoria for the new building of the Reform Club. Founded in opposition to the Tory Carlton Club, its membership comprised liberal Whigs and Radicals, and it became a bastion of the fledgling Liberal Party. Sir Benjamin Hall, who was returned as a Liberal for the borough of Marylebone in 1837, offered a marble bust of the Queen for the new building. He requested that it be placed on the slab between the Grand Saloon and the Coffee Room, facing the entrance door, where it remains.[44] In a piece noting the acquisition, the *Sheffield Independent* described the bust as 'magnificent'. However, the reviewer for the *Morning Chronicle*, who saw it at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1842, was disappointed, deeming it 'not a very striking production', lamenting that it was 'soft and fleshy in execution', and complaining that it lacked 'the main ingredients of a portrait, likeness and character'.[45]

In the bust itself, Victoria, craning an unusually long neck, wears her hair with the centre front sections parted and smoothed to the side of her head until they are turned back below the ears, creating an unflattering silhouette. The rest of her hair is plaited and pinned into the usual bun, with a few cascading curls. She wears no diadem, nor any other jewellery, except for a brooch that holds her loose drapery together at the centre front. The brooch is a cameo, bearing the profile of Prince Albert, whom she had married the year before. Due to the bust's placement, the cameo is closer to the viewer's eye level than Victoria's face, so Albert is quickly seen and recognised.

Placed as it was between two rooms and with nothing behind it, the piece was visible from both the front and the back, meaning that many would have seen the inscription across the back of the bust. It reads, 'VICTORIA D G BRITANIARUM (sic) REGINA F D / FRANCIS SCULP. 1841'. The use of Victoria's

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[43] John Francis, who had been a student and employee of Sir Francis Chantrey, went on to lead a thriving studio of his own, and taught a number of sculptors who also portrayed Queen Victoria and members of her family, including Joseph Durham, Matthew Noble, and Thomas Thornycroft. The latter married Francis's daughter Mary, also a sculptor who received numerous commissions from the Queen. It is almost exclusively through works on these artists that material on Francis can be found.

[44] Louis Fagan, *The Reform Club: its founders and architect* (London, 1887), 70-71.

[45] *Sheffield Independent*, 8 January 1842; *Morning Chronicle*, 13 May 1842, 'The Royal Academy'.

full, official title served to remind the viewer that she was queen by the grace of God, and that she held the position of Defender of the Faith. Victoria and Albert worked hard during their marriage to present themselves as morally in tune with the teachings of the Anglican Church, and thus fit to lead the kingdom. Interestingly, the club contains no other portraits of monarchs, the closest being of Oliver Cromwell. This most likely had something to do with the contentious relationships between the Whigs and past monarchs, and Victoria's early bias in favour of the party.[46] In this context, Victoria was not fitting into a line of sovereigns, asserting the continuity of her reign, nor was her bust placed near any male counterparts. Although the club members and visitors who saw her would have had images of past monarchs and other illustrious male figures in their mental catalogues, none was present for comparison, not even a full-sized pendant of Albert.

Even more directly 'classical' was the 1843 bust by Johann Jacob Flatters (figures 207 and 208). A German sculptor, Flatters (1786-1845) trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, studying under Houdon. He arrived in London in 1842, and in 1843 was commissioned by an unknown patron to sculpt a bust of the Queen.[47] The resulting sculpture bears Victoria's coat of arms on the socle, making her identity clear should the likeness be insufficient. She wears ancient Greek dress, which, while adhering to Greek norms, also echoes the wide neckline that was fashionable in the early 1840s. While her hair is drawn back straighter than she tended to wear it at this time, possibly to avoid distracting attention from her features, small curls still escape near her ears, as they had in Weekes's portrait. The tilt of her head and the softness of her expression again bring to mind the *Court Album* and *Heath's Book of Beauty*, although not to the same extent as in the earlier bust, perhaps in part because by this time she was married and the mother of three children. While she does wear a headpiece in this bust, it is not a diadem, but a chaplet of blooming roses. She often wore floral headdresses, and rose wreaths can be seen in a number of paintings

[46] For more on the Whigs and the Crown, see L. G. Mitchell, 'Foxite politics and the Great Reform Bill', *The English Historical Review*, 108, 427 (Apr. 1993), 338-364.
[47] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15438/queen-victoria-bust-flatters-johann-jacob, accessed 13 March 2014.

around this time by Franz Xaver Winterhalter.[48] A softened and feminized version of a crown, the floral chaplet was also a more accessible version of a diadem, as any woman could plait flowers to wear in her hair.

While Flatters' bust had been created in years filled with technological advances – the Great Western Railway connected London and Bristol in 1841 - and unrest – the Plug Plot Riots and the Black Country Nailer's Riots had occurred in 1842 – it was a relatively casual statement of her monarchy. Eight years later, John Francis executed his third bust of the Queen (figure 209), returning to the style of the work by Chantrey that he had copied years earlier. The accoutrements in this portrait, however, have closer relations to reality. The headpiece may be an interpretation of Queen Victoria's diamond and ruby strawberry leaf coronet, made by Garrard & Co, which also appeared in Winterhalter's 1855 watercolour of the Queen. Not being one of her state pieces, it is therefore less formal and closer to the jewels the wealthy women around her would have worn, than emblematic of her royalty.

As in the earlier copy, the robe depicted is not what Victoria is shown wearing in paintings, and is an unusual, loose style. Furthermore, the riband was usually worn over her dress, and under her robes. It is highly unlikely that this is a gown instead of robes, as it does not fit the contemporary fashion. Her hair also has more wave than it is usually represented as having in paintings and in other sculptures. Her features are regularized and her looks improved, to the point that there is not a strong resemblance to most of her other depictions. Her pupils are carved, giving her expression more focus, and she looks into the distance with a serious expression.[49]

This bust is in the collection of the Draper's Company, and is paired with one of Prince Albert (figure 210), yet another copy of Chantrey's earlier bust of the consort. The Draper's Company also owns a bust of William IV by Francis (figure 211), which bears a striking resemblance to Chantrey's portrait of him

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[48] These include portraits dated 1844-5 and 1846 and his painting of the Queen and her four eldest children from 1845, each of which is in the Royal Collection.
[49] According to Scherf, 'At the beginning of the second century, during Hadrian's reign, the contour of the iris began to be incised, breathing life into the face. In the modern period sculptures have oscillated between the two traditions'. Scherf, 35. Chantrey himself vacillated between the two, depending on how prominent the eyes are in the individual's expression. Potts, *Sir Francis Chantrey*, 8.

(figure 193), although with adjustments to the drapery. This image of the former king has more in common with the portrayal of the Prince Consort than it does with Victoria, his successor. The tendency to dress men in classical garb and women in contemporary dress is seen in Francis's representations of George IV (which is a copy of Chantrey's) and Queen Caroline (figure 212, 1823) and of the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk (figures 213 and 214). The question remains why the need was felt to return to a more overtly monarchical image. It is possible that Francis was influenced by the Great Exhibition, which opened in 1851 and was a moment of high impact for the British royal family, due both to the publicity garnered by the exhibition, and by Albert's central role in its planning.

However, the same year, Robert Physick portrayed the Queen in a style more similar to Francis's second bust (figure 206). She is again without any headpiece, and wrapped in a vaguely classical arrangement of material. Physick (1815-1865/6), whose father and two brothers were also sculptors, was not closely tied into the network of Chantrey's and Francis's students. He entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1837, and continued to exhibit there until 1856.[50] The circumstances of the commission of Physick's 1851 bust of the Queen (figures 215 and 216) are unclear. Now in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, it was a gift from the Queen Elizabeth Military Hospital in 1977. According to notes from the Trustee's meeting at which the offer was discussed, the bust had been presented to the hospital by C. E. Hawkins, of the National Portrait Gallery, in 1947.[51] No further information was given, either as to its commission, or the subsequent ownership leading up to this transfer.

Victoria is wrapped in a winding, folded cloth, and her hair is simply dressed. As in the bust by Weekes (figures 204 and 205), she wears no jewellery and only one piece of royal insignia, here the Garter star, which is partially covered by the drapery. Her features are regularised and idealised,

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[50] http://217.204.55.158/henrymoore/sculptor/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=2118, accessed 14 March 2014.

[51] RP NPG46/52/48, Heinz Archive. The Queen Elizabeth Military Hospital in Woolwich was not opened until 1977, suggesting that the bust may have been originally given to one of the hospitals the QEMH was built to replace, such as the Queen Alexandra Military Hospital Millbank or the Royal Herbert Hospital on Shooters Hill.

and while she appears far younger than her thirty-two years, she is still recognisable. However, this bust lacks the wistful romanticism of Weekes's bust, and exudes a gravity missing from Francis's 1841 version.

A third bust from this period is Baron Carlo Marochetti's 1850-55 portrait of the Queen (figure 217), commissioned as a gift for Albert's birthday in 1855.[52] Here, she wears a crown of oak leaves accented by acorns, a shamrock, rose, thistle, and lace on each side of her head. While shamrock, thistle, and rose are emblems of Ireland, Scotland, and England, the oak could be a reference to the Roman *corona civica*, an oak wreath conferred on citizens who had been of great service to Rome.[53] However, on her birthday in 1847, she wrote that each of her children presented her with flowers, some arranged in bunches and some in wreaths, with her young son Alfred giving her a wreath of soft oak leaves, and no mention of Rome or allusion to antiquity was made in that context.[54] In spite of the wreath's possible reference to Rome, her clothing is decidedly contemporary, with its low, pleated neckline, accompanied by the Garter sash.

A rather critical review in the new monthly magazine *Titan* expressed confusion at the oak wreath, wondering at first whether it was a pair of hands meeting over her head. The author decided that it was such as odd piece, it must have been purposeful, and perhaps represented 'a symbolic crown', although complaining that 'the arrangement *fails* to suggest any such thing'.[55] The use of an oak wreath in portraying the Queen was not unique to Marochetti; one can be seen a bust of Victoria by William Theed the younger (1804-1891), dated 1860-61 (figure 218 is a parianware copy of the original). Theed, who had copied six antique busts for Prince Albert in 1856, was well

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[52] For further information on Baron Marochetti's life and works, see: Marco Calderini, *Carlo Marochetti: monografia con ritratti, facscimile e riproduzioni di opera dell'artista* (Torino, 1928).

[53] http://www.tribunesandtriumphs.org/roman-clothing/roman-crowns-and-wreaths.htm, accessed 13 March 2014. In the catalogue for the exhibition 'Sculpture Victorious', the oak wreath is likened to the orange blossoms Victoria wore at her wedding. While this is entirely possible, due to the appearance of the wreath, and the antique legacy of the bust format, I think the *corona civica* is a more likely association. Martina Droth et al (eds.), *Sculpture victorious: art in the age of invention, 1837-1901* (London, 2014), 70.

[54] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 24 May 1847 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[55] As reprinted in: *Falkirk Herald*, 9 October 1856, 'Literature'.

versed in the conventions of antique portraiture. His bust of Albert (figure 219) more fully adheres to its traditions, while his portrayal of Victoria inhabits the ambiguous middle ground that was favoured in many of her busts. Her representation outside contemporary norms is particularly clear when juxtaposed with Theed's bust of her mother, the Duchess of Kent, dated 1861 (figure 220). The Duchess's gown and hair are complicated and fashionable, and she wears at least four different pieces of jewellery.[56] Both Theed's and Marochetti's busts of Victoria are intensely simple by comparison, and the oak leaves stand out all the more for their attempt at timelessness.

More disturbing to the *Titan's* reviewer than the anomalous headpiece, was the sculptor's audacity in tinting the flesh. In spite of the *Art Journal*'s insistence that 'every one knows that the Greeks occasionally coloured their statues […]',[57] the *Titan* felt the need to protest against the spreading of 'this colour offence'. The author acknowledged some evidence that Phidias employed coloured accents, although assured the reader that it was only in capitulation to the unfortunate taste of the people, and called upon all British artists to rise above such temptations.[58] The complaint against the tinting of this particular bust is given added weight by the declaration that the flesh was painted brown, an unseemly shade for any woman of elevated birth, let alone the queen.

Another issue listed in this long litany of criticisms is the presentation of the Queen as significantly younger than she would have been at the time. He argued that she appeared almost as a child, and that 'there *is* a likeness, if from the original the womanhood be abstracted'.[59] While Marochetti's had been found to be egregiously young looking, the *London Daily News* noted of Theed's version that in it the Queen had not been 'absurdly and needlessly flattered', in spite of the fact that 'the great leveller Time, after the revolutions of forty years, will leave traces as upon the humblest'.[60] Both responses suggest that the Queen's advancing age and maturity were not viewed as drawbacks, but as

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[56] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 23 March 1861 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014. Crafted posthumously, it was based on a former bust, photographs, and a portrait painted by Franz Xaver Winterhalter.
[57] *The Art Journal*, 1 May 1849, 140.
[58] As reprinted in: *Falkirk Herald*, 9 October 1856, 'Literature'.
[59] *Falkirk Herald*, 9 October 1856, 'Literature', original emphasis.
[60] *London Daily News*, 23 May 1861, 'Fine Arts'.

something worth acknowledging for the sake of verisimilitude, and which could act as a further tie between her royal self and her subjects.

The reviewer for the *London Daily News* joined in the disdain for this bust, stating that 'the Baron has forgotten to render the calm dignity proper to a Queen, and has conveyed still less of the quiet self-relying grace of the English lady'.[61] Both publications took umbrage at the prominent mastoideus muscle visible in the neck, the *London Daily News* arguing that in a woman's throat, this muscle 'describes a beautiful serpentine line', whereas this example pertained more to the 'strongly developed' and 'rigidly relieved' muscle in the male throat. By calling attention to the gendered nature of this difference, and objecting to the similarity in this example of the Queen to the male body instead of the female, the author reinforced the importance of Victoria fitting the female role assigned her.

Victoria, however, apparently approved of the finished product, and sent marble copies of her bust and Albert's to the city of Paris as a token of thanks for the hospitality she had enjoyed on her visit in 1855. They were subsequently placed in the meeting room of the Municipal Council, and further copies were ordered for the Hotel de Ville.[62] A version by Marochetti was also placed in the entrance hall at Haddo House, to allude to 'the intended visit of her Majesty in 1855, when Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister'.[63] Victoria also honoured Marochetti with a further commission in 1857 – a bust of her cousin, the Duchess of Nemours (figure 221) who died suddenly while the portrait was in the process of being made. The loose gathers and bow of Victoire's gown form a contrast to the subtle, fitted and horizontal pleats of Victoria's neckline, and the plain, unaccessorized hairstyle has quite a different impact to the complicated flora and lace that adorned the Queen. The pensive expression and overall simplicity, including a lack of jewellery, are common to both.

Joseph Durham's 1855 bust of the Queen (figure 222) was shown in the 1856 Royal Academy Exhibition, and near enough Marochetti's bust of Victoria

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[61] *London Daily News*, 2 June 1856, 'Fine arts'.
[62] *Morning Post*, 8 June 1857, 'The Continental courts'. The *Luton Times and Advertiser* only mentions one set, stating that it was given to the Prefect of the Seine, and placed in the Hotel de Ville. 28 *Luton Times and Advertiser*, February 1857, 'Multum in parvo'.
[63] *Inverness Courier*, 22 October 1857.

that the *Titan* felt compelled to compare the two in a lengthy piece.[64] He declared Durham's bust to be greatly the superior, possibly in part due his being British, as the author expressed disapproval of Marochetti's foreign birth. Instead of a confusing floral headpiece, 'Her Majesty wears in this a regal crown, and the air of womanhood that befits it', which was a specific reference to the Queen appearing an appropriate age. He further stated that, 'Mr Durham's bust presents, morally as well as physically, a good likeness of the Queen'. At the same time, the author complained that the bust 'is perhaps wanting of the dignity that should pertain to the subject', and noted that the execution was 'timid and feeble'. Neither could the reviewer for the *London Daily News* keep from comparing the two. While he thought that 'the likeness is not strong enough; the expression is too bland, and the execution is timid', he believed that these faults were less damning than those exhibited in Marochetti's work.[65]

At the Art Treasures exhibition held in Manchester in 1857, copies of Baron Marochetti's bust of Prince Albert, and, instead of the pendant bust of the Queen, one of Joseph Durham's busts of Victoria were displayed on each side of the door leading into the hall from the royal reception rooms.[66] The Durham – Marochetti pairing appeared again in the form of ceramic copies given by the Staffordshire Potteries to the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick William of Prussia upon their marriage.[67] It is unlikely that the Queen's bust by Marochetti was replaced by the Durham for nationalistic reasons, as Marochetti's portrayal of Albert was used, in spite of the existence of busts of the Prince Consort by British artists. It is possible that the other complaints of the reviewers, including the oak wreath and the prominent neck muscle, were generally felt, and the Durham bust was deemed more suitable for publicly representing the monarch. Its image was further spread through an engraving (figure 223), and Sir Francis Graham Moon, Publisher in Ordinary to the Queen and formerly chief magistrate**,** presented this bust to the City of London, and it was placed in the Council chamber of the Guildhall.

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[64] Reprinted in the *Falkirk Herald*, 9 October 1856, 'literature'. *Titan* ran between 1856 and 1859.
[65] *London Daily News*, 2 June 1856, 'Fine arts'.
[66] *Sherbourne Mercury*, 7 July 1857, 'The Queen's visit to Manchester'.
[67] *Isle of Wight Observer*, 6 February 1858, 'The bridal presents from Birmingham'.

Another British artist, Matthew Noble, made a series of busts of the Queen in preparation for a statue to be publicly displayed in Manchester. Victoria had visited the city on 10 October 1851 on one of her royal tours, and was hosted by Lord and Lady Ellesmere at nearby Worsley Hall. Mayor Robert Barnes, who had been knighted after the delivery of an address, later commissioned Matthew Noble to sculpt a marble bust of the Queen for the Town Hall (figure 224). Victoria recorded a sitting with Noble on 10 March 1856, and it was delivered to the City Council in August of that year.[68] Victoria made no further mention of it, but *The Times* thought highly of the result, praising it for uniting 'the feminine expression of the original features with the dignity of Royalty'.[69]

Copies were soon made, among them one for Lord Ellesmere (figure 225). The busts are nearly identical, except for the changing of the Regal Circlet for a plainer, more generic tiara, and for the diminution in size from the overly large and imposing crowned version, to the more average-sized version with the tiara. While no records remain to explain this change, it removes the most overt symbol of Victoria's sovereignty, and replaces it with an item of jewellery that, while formal, is not necessarily regal. A miniature copy in ivory (figure 226), also attributed to Noble, shows the queen with no tiara at all. In this last bust, her femininity is highlighted, and without the symbol of monarchy or wealth, she is made more accessible, an impression that is underscored by the small size of the figure.

Barnes had hoped that the marble bust would spur the commission of a full-length statue, which it did the following year.[70] It was to be placed in Peel Park in Salford, where Victoria and her party had been greeted by the 'striking & I suppose totally unprecedented sight' of 82,000 Sunday school children.[71] Thomas Agnew chaired a committee for the memorial, and the children who had gathered on the original occasion contributed a large portion of the funds for the statue. As Victoria had recently given birth to Princess Beatrice, Prince

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[68] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 10 March 1856 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[69] *The Times*, as quoted in Terry Wyke and Harry Cocks, *Public sculpture of Greater Manchester* (Liverpool, 2004), 37.
[70] Wyke and Cocks, 37.
[71] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 10 October 1851 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

Albert unveiled the memorial while visiting Manchester to open the Art Treasures exhibition. Later that year, Victoria wrote of driving by and stopping to admire it with her ladies.[72]

The sculpture (figures 227 and 228) has not weathered well, but an engraving published in 1857 (figure 229) provides some information as to the details lost. While there appear to be some similarities to the bust, especially in the head itself, the clothing has been altered, with the pseudo-classical drapery being replaced by her state robes, although the gown underneath is clearly not supported by the crinoline then fashionable. Her tiara poses further questions, as it is not the Regal Circlet seen on the bust, and the statue has either lost the upper portion of the tiara, or never had it at all.[73] Surprisingly, the statue incorporates the Imperial State Crown on a cushion, below Victoria's right hand. A traditional element of state portraiture, it was one that rarely appeared in representations of the Queen.

After the death of Prince Albert, Noble was commissioned to create a memorial (figure 230) that would also act as a pendant to Victoria's, which was given a new base so that the two would match. Noble portrayed Albert in academic robes, which referred to his position as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Terry Wyke and Harry Cocks have argued that this was done to avoid the issue of rendering Albert in civilian clothing.[74] Civilian clothing, however, was not the only option. Prince Albert could certainly have been portrayed in the robes of the Order of the Garter, as Winterhalter had done in 1843 when pairing his portrait with that of Victoria, or he could have continued the classical theme present in the bust he had already sculpted. Regardless of the other options available, it is clear that presenting Albert in academic robes, an option not open to Victoria, removed him from possible competition with her, or any confusion regarding his role as royal consort as opposed to king.[75]

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[72] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 July 1857 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[73] The tiara in the engraving is reminiscent of the emerald and diamond tiara, designed by Prince Albert, and worn by the Queen in Winterhalter's *The royal family in 1846*, although the resemblance is not close enough for a positive identification.

[74] Wyke and Cocks, 178-79.

[75] The refusal to allow Prince Albert the title of King Consort is illustrative of the concern over his power and precedence. Weintraub, *Uncrowned king*, 339.

A copy of Victoria's statue (figure 231) was placed in the Guildhall in Leeds, the image of which was perpetuated in an engraving (figure 232). The cushion bearing the Imperial State Crown had been edited out and replaced by the Sovereign's Sceptre in her right hand, and a document in her left. Upon viewing the work, the *London City Press* noted that 'the colossal statue of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, by Noble, as Queen of the East, was much admired.[76] The acknowledgment of Queen Victoria's relatively new role as monarch over the Eastern colonies is particularly noteworthy. Although she would not officially be proclaimed Empress of India for another twenty years, Britain was steadily gaining territory throughout the world, and particularly in the east. However, the reviewer for the *Morning Post* was not so much concerned with Britain's expansion of colonial rule as with Noble's interpretation of Victoria's roles. He stated that 'Mr Noble has been most successful in combining feminine grace and beauty with the dignity of the sovereign', again focusing on the importance of her adherence to gender constructions as well as suitably monarchical behaviour.[77]

A few years later, another artist was called upon to sculpt a statue of Victoria for public display. Former mayor of Hull, Zachariah Charles Pearson, originally commissioned the statue in 1861 to commemorate the Queen's 1854 visit. However, he was unable to pay for the work due to his bankruptcy, and it was completed in 1863 and paid for by William Henry Moss, who was then mayor. Thomas Earle, a native of Hull, was chosen for the project. In Earle's preparatory portrait bust (figure 233), dated 1861, the queen is again wrapped in her state robes, which are tied at centre front, recalling Chantrey's work from the beginning of her reign.[78] A pupil and employee of Sir Francis Chantrey, Earle would certainly have been aware of the 1838 bust, and may even have been part of the team working on the original bust or copy. It is unsurprising, then, that when he had the opportunity to portray the Queen; he visually 'quoted' the earlier work.

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[76] *London City Press*, 13 November 1858, 'Inside Guildhall'.
[77] *Morning Post*, 6 September 1858.
[78] Although these do not resemble the state robes she wears in other portraits, they are identified as such by the Royal Collection website. http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/2069/queen-victoria, accessed 20 March 2014.

What shows of her dress underneath is indeterminate, low cut and simply pleated instead of being sewn into a fitted neckline, as one would expect of a gown at this period. The fur of the robes has a heavier aspect, and it slides partway down her shoulders creating a wide v-shaped neckline. She wears no jewellery except for the George IV diadem, which is stylized in its presentation. This diadem also appeared on the penny black, making it significant not only for its ubiquity, but also for being worn in an image in which the queen stood in directly for the United Kingdom. Although it was at this point still a private piece – Victoria would leave it to the crown in her will – she usually wore it on more formal occasions, such as the christening of the Prince of Wales, or in state portraits, such as Winterhalter's of 1843. Her hair is dressed simply in a style appropriate to the time, and she gazes out, with a slight pinching of the brows that suggests penetrating thought.

The bust was exhibited at the London International Exhibition in 1862, and was well received, as was the statue that followed (figure 234), one of the first to show the Queen seated. According to the *Liverpool Daily Post*, 'Mr. Earle … has also in hand at this time a statue of the Queen for the People's Park at Hull. Those who have seen it speak of it as likely to be one of the finest statues of her Majesty extant'.[79] A pendant statue of Prince Albert (figure 235), also by Thomas Earle, was eventually erected in 1868. Unlike Noble, Earle dressed the Prince in contemporary clothing, with no special designation of his roles and responsibilities, other than a column covered by a bit of drapery, both standard props in state portraits, under his left hand. While Victoria sits regally, Albert stands, ready to take action.

Another set of sculptural portraits of Victoria and Albert, commissioned by the royal couple, is informative of how they wished to present the dynamic between them. In the autumn of 1844, Victoria asked John Gibson (1790-1866) to create a statue of herself (figures 236 and 237) as a pendant to Emile Wolff's 1842 sculpture of Prince Albert (figure 238).[80] A birthday gift for the Queen, Wolff's statue representing the Prince Consort was replete with imagery; the

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[79] *Liverpool Daily Post*, 18 April 1862.

[80] For further information on John Gibson, see: Lady Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake (ed.), *Life of John Gibson, R.A.* (London, 1870); T. Matthews, *The biography of John Gibson, R.A. sculptor, Rome* (London, 1911); and John Hussey, *John Gibson, R.A.: the world of the master sculptors* (London, 2012).

emblems on his armour of both Coburg and the British Isles, St George and the dragon on his shield, and Victory (Viktoria) on his breastplate, worked together to present Albert as the champion of the nation and of his wife in particular.[81]

According to the *Art Journal*, she wished her pendant to this piece to be 'a faithful portrait, such as her children should recognise, and calculated for a room in the palace, not for any public institution'.[82] And yet, the public nature of the work is undeniable, not only in the nature of the medium, but because the royal homes, even the private ones, saw significant foot traffic, and the fact that an engraving of the statue was published in the *Art Journal* in May 1849 (figure 239). Gibson was an appropriate choice for a sculpture that would be seen as a pendant to Wolff's antique interpretation of the Prince Consort. Gibson had lived in Italy since 1817, and had considerable knowledge of ancient statuary. He was also aware of Victoria and Albert's taste for the antique, having helped them unpack Wyatt's *Penelope* (figure 240) and find an appropriate location for its display, while he was at Windsor working on the Queen's statue.[83]

However, Gibson, like Chantrey before him, expressed concern about presenting the young queen in a sufficiently monarchical manner. As he wrote to a friend, 'It required management to preserve in a small figure the look and air of one presiding over us – that air of dignity and firmness, yet softened by a touch of mildness and grace which her Majesty really has'. In spite of the possibility of resolving these difficulties by incorporating the more traditional emblems of majesty, Gibson wished instead to 'give royalty in the look and action'. Victoria holds in her left hand a scroll, which represents the law, and which 'she grasps tight with her little fingers,' and in her right hand, a laurel wreath symbolizing her power to bestow honours.[84] Although no longer in full command of honours and peerages, the monarch was still instrumental in their

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[81] Marsden, 70. Another version of the sculpture was commissioned in 1846, nearly identical except for the lengthening of the tunic and the addition of sandals, as Albert had felt that 'the Greek armour, with bare legs & feet, looked too undressed to place in a room'. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 September 1846 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[82] *The Art Journal*, 1 May 1849, 140.

[83] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 2 November 1844 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.

[84] John Gibson to Mrs Lawrence, 21 July 1845, as quoted in Eastlake, 125-6. Regarding his commission from the Queen, Gibson similarly lamented to his friend Mrs Sandbach, 'a short person is not a good subject for a statue'. John Gibson to Mrs Sandbach, 29 April 1845, NLW MS 20566 E.

presentation, and while the Crown's legislative powers were also curtailed, Victoria consistently conferred with her ministers and made her opinions known.[85] Her classicized clothing and drapery was not only fitting for the commission, but gave 'elegance and grace to the lines of [the] statue'.[86]

The year before Victoria commissioned Gibson to carve her classically inspired likeness, he had executed one of Catherine Otway-Cave, who was then Mrs Murray and later became the Countess of Beauchamp (figure 241). Her mother, Baroness Bray, had become acquainted with Gibson while visiting Rome with her daughters, and had commissioned the sculpture for her home. On one of Gibson's visits to England, Mrs Murray requested that he tint her sculpture, having heard of his polychrome Venus. He accordingly painted the borders of her gown red and blue, coloured the flesh, painted her eyes blue, and her ivy headpiece gold. Much to Mrs Murray's dismay, the changes were apparently too avant-garde for the taste of her friends, and Gibson called in a few of his artistically enlightened friends to reassure her.[87] Victoria, too, allowed Gibson to paint her sculpture, but was not without her reservations. He applied pale shades of red and blue to the borders of the robe, and tinted the tassels, her sandals, and her tiara with a golden yellow colour. He wished to inset gold, as he believed the ancient Greeks had done, but Victoria refused her permission, apparently feeling that the delicate tints already applied were colour enough. It is unclear whether the paleness of the colours used, as opposed to the bold colours the Greeks favoured, was Victoria's idea or Gibson's, although a letter from Lady Canning suggests that it was what he believed to be historically accurate.[88]

According to Victoria's journal, Albert was not satisfied by the likeness, a sentiment with which the *London Daily News* concurred. Its reviewer

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[85] Cannon, *The Modern British Monarchy*, 4.
[86] Gibson, as quoted in Marsden, 72.
[87] Matthews, 197-198. In spite of Mrs Murray's anxiety on the topic and the displeasure of her friends, according to the *Art Journal*, Gibson's polychromy 'could not be called an innovation, for every one knows that the Greeks occasionally coloured their statues […]'. *The Art Journal*, 1 May 1849, 140.
[88] Letter from Lady Canning to Queen Victoria, dated 16 December 1846: 'Mr Gibson has revived…the ancient practice of colouring the border of the robe in pale blue & red. I think he has done this very judiciously, so as to relieve the cold white of the marble without attracting the eye too much'. As quoted in Marsden, 72.

complained that, 'the face is like, though surely too square in the nose' and 'the neck is somewhat strongly marked'.[89] Victoria, however, was, on the whole, pleased with the statue. She declared that 'the figure is quite correct, & gives the impression of youth & yet great dignity, as well as of the stature of a small person'.[90] The critic at the *Art Journal* felt similarly, noting that the pose 'has a gentle yet noble tranquillity, free from all manner or assumption'.[91] It is worth noting that, according to Jane Feifer, an open body pose was most often the province of male sculpture in Rome, although seen in a full figure of the empress Agrippina Minor.[92] Interestingly, Victoria, also a ruler, is posed with her arms open while Mrs Murray wraps hers about her.

Gibson's talents were called upon once again in 1855 to sculpt the likeness of the Queen for the Prince's Chamber in the new palace of Westminster (figure 242). Although the room itself is somewhat small, arguably too small for a statue of such size and grandeur, Benedict Read has pointed out that when the doors to the chamber are removed for the State Opening of Parliament, it can be seen to great effect from the Royal Gallery. Read further argues that the correlation between the pointed archways and the setting in which the group was located suggests that this placement was planned to have that effect.[93] A comment in a letter from Gibson to his friend Mrs Sandbach, however, suggests that the architect was not entirely on board. He wrote, 'I will tell you that the architect Sir C Barry made a desperate effort to turn out the work[;] he tried to dissuade the Lords & others that I had made the statues much too large.'[94] Originally meant to portray Victoria alone, Albert suggested that, due to the width of the recess, two figures be added, and Justice and Clemency were chosen to be her companions.

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[89] *London Daily News*, 28 June 1847.
[90] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 26 June 1847 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[91] *The Art Journal*, 1 May 1849, 140.
[92] Jane Fejfer, *Roman portraits in context* (New York, 2008), 340.
[93] Benedict Read, 'Sculpture and the new palace of Westminster' in Riding and Riding, 253-269. For further discussion of nineteenth-century Gothic art and architecture, see Basil Fulford Lowther Clarke, *Church builders of the nineteenth century: a study of the Gothic Revival in England* (Newton Abbot, 1969); Janet Marquardt and Alyce Jordan (eds), *Medieval art and architecture after the Middle Ages* (Newcastle, 2009); and Tom Duggett, *Gothic romanticism: architecture, politics, and literary form* (Basingstoke, 2010).
[94] John Gibson to Mrs Sandbach, 11 March 1857, NLW MS 6757 D.

Gibson's description of the piece was published in a guide to the palace of Westminster. In it, he explains the symbolism included, such as the sea horses on the footstool that denote Britain's naval prowess, and the inclusion of a figure 'pondering over geometry', representing science. He further explained that the figure of Justice, whose expression he described as 'inflexible', wore the symbol of truth around her neck. He related the story that in ancient history, a judge would wear such a symbol when pronouncing the death sentence. Quoting Plato, he wrote, 'All-seeing Justice; the eye of Justice penetrates into the darkness which conceals the truth'. On Victoria's left is the figure of Clemency, whom Gibson described as being 'full of sympathy and sadness — sad, for the constant sins which come to her knowledge; but with lenity, she keeps her sword sheathed, and offers the olive branch, the sign of peace'. Gibson further stated that, Clemency must have the power of punishment, therefore she is represented with a sword'.[95]

As she had in Gibson's previous sculptural portrait, the Queen holds a laurel wreath in her right hand. In her left, she holds the Sovereign's Sceptre, which symbolizes temporal authority.[96] She is again dressed in antique garb, although while in the earlier figure she wears an unidentified tiara, in the group she wears the George IV diadem. The use of this particular diadem, together with the sceptre and Edward the Confessor's chair, associates Victoria's figure more closely to the reality of the present, and creates a formal air that is underscored by her blank expression and upright posture. She is every inch of the queen, here.

Conceived as the finale of the series of royal sculptures, she was the current queen, which would naturally place her last, but she was also the inheritor of the Crown through a long, and as represented, continuous, line of predecessors, creating a narrative of legitimacy. The Prince's Chamber also

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[95] *An illustrated guide and descriptive account of the Palace of Westminster* (London, undated), 30. According to Gibson, he presented three possible designs to the Commission, which chose this configuration. John Gibson to JB Crouchley, 1 July 1850, NLWMS 4914 D Box.

[96] The Sovereign's Sceptre, or Sceptre with the Cross, is held in the right hand during the coronation, while the Sceptre with the Dove, which symbolizes spiritual authority, is held in the left. Here, Victoria holds the scepter in her left had to leave her right hand free to hold the laurel wreath. She is also seated n Edward the Confessor's chair, used in coronations, underlining the link with the moment in which she was anointed queen.

contained William Theed's bronze reliefs of episodes of British history, and a series of portraits of Tudor royals by Richard Burdett, both of which further reinforced her place in the monarchical line (figure 18). Victoria recorded viewing the work in February of 1857, commenting that it was very fine, although she did not think the likeness a good one.[97] The *Illustrated London News* published a wood engraving of the group (figure 243) on 7 March of that year, and noted that the gilding behind the figures had the effect of reducing them in size, which was fortunate, as they had 'at one time threatened to appear too large for the room'.[98] The idea of an overly large queen, with her Amazonian companions Justice and Clemency, may well have been threatening to the men who gathered in the House of Lords, and passed the grouping on a regular basis.

The difficulties Gibson and the other artists discussed in this chapter faced as they carved portraits of Victoria were heightened by the limitations inherent to sculpture. The few elements that could be used to visually articulate the queen's position, such as her facial expression, her clothing, and her accoutrements, were fully explored in the many sculptural portraits of the Queen. The question of whether to dress Victoria in classically inspired clothing, as was the tradition for male subjects, or a contemporary gown, as was more common for women, was one that persistently troubled her artists. A-historical garb, or altered versions of royal robes over invented dress, proved a common resolution of the issue, placing her not within the classical or contemporary traditions, but in a category of her own. Additionally, the impact of the headpiece, be it a crown, tiara, wreath, or nothing at all, was profound in the resulting image. As in the case of Noble's series of busts, it could transform her from regal Queen, to somewhat accessible lady, to an almost allegorical figure of womanhood and of her country.[99]

The number of busts and full-size sculptures of Victoria created between 1837 and 1861 - long before her jubilee and, finally, her death, inspired many

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[97] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 February 1857 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 November 2014.
[98] *Illustrated London News*, 7 March 1857, 'Her Majesty enthroned – John Gibson, R.A., sculptor'.
[99] For a further discussion of the allegorical representation of female figures, see Marina Warner, *Monuments and maidens: the allegory of the female form* (London, 1985).

memorials across Britain and the world - testifies to the unusual place she held, especially when compared to the paucity of available female comparisons.[100] The varying forms these busts and sculptures took underscore the challenges that faced the artists who portrayed her, and the lack of clear precedent. The resulting assortment assured that there was a variation of Victoria to suit nearly every situation and expectation, be it weighted to the monarchical or the feminine or, more commonly, an amalgamation of the two.

While many of Victoria's sculpted portraits relied in part on the legacy of the antique that informed the genre, she also explored new methods of representation, such as the photograph. Invented shortly after Victoria came to the throne, it was an exciting new medium with which she experimented privately, before allowing the Royal Album to be published in 1860. These images, both public and private, will be discussed in the next chapter.

[100] For more on the world-wide spread of Victoria's sculpted portrait, see Jennifer Powell, 'The dissemination of commemorative statues of Queen Victoria', in Penelope Curtis and Keith Wilson (eds.), *Modern British sculpture* (London, 2011), 282-288.

Chapter 7

The Queen 'as she is': photographs of Queen Victoria

In late 1860, lady in waiting Eleanor Stanley was much occupied on the Queen's behalf, writing to a long list of aristocratic women and asking for photographs of themselves and of their husbands. In a letter to her sister, Lady Cremorne, she declared, 'I believe Miss Skerrett is right when she says, "she (the Queen) could be bought, and sold for a Photograph!"'[1] Once the invention of photography was made public in 1839, nearly aligning with Victoria's ascension to the throne, it was not long before the British royals showed an interest in the medium, and began to experiment with it. Victoria and Albert sat for a number of artists beginning in 1842, and supported public exhibitions by lending photographs from their private collection. Albert, whose librarian Dr Becker was a founding member of the Photographic Society,[2] further gave the royal seal of approval by becoming an early patron of the organization, an action consistent with his interest in science and technology. Victoria and Albert's involvement with photography extended beyond collection and patronage to a desire to understand the workings of the art, and they employed Roger Fenton (1819-1869) to teach them some rudimentary skills.[3]

Until 1860, when John Jabez Edwin Mayall published the 'Royal Album', photographs of the royal family were private pieces, enjoyed among a select circle of family, friends, and courtiers. However, Mayall's *cartes-de-visite* allowed many of Victoria's subjects to obtain their own copy of her appearance. As stated in *The Morning Post*, 'these royal portraits stand unrivalled, and from their cheapness must find their way into numberless homes whose occupiers

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[1] Stanley and Erskine, 377.

[2] It became the Royal Photographic Society in 1894.

[3] Roger Taylor has suggested that it was more likely to have been Dr Ernst Becker who taught the royal couple about photography. Becker, who was Prince Albert's librarian, was also a skilled amateur photographer and founding member of the Photographic Society, and took many informal pictures of the royal family. Unfortunately, none of the results of Victoria and Albert's experiments with photography survive. Roger Taylor, 'Introduction: royal patronage and photography 1839-1901, in Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown & Camera: the royal family and photography 1842 – 1910* (Middlesex, 1987), 14.

have previously been shut out by the question of expense from gratifying their loyalty with a picture gallery of their Sovereign and the royal family of this country'.[4]

It may have seemed a risky venture, as in the past images of the sovereign had been created by skilled artists who were careful to please their royal sitters. Photographs, while still mediated, certainly represented the Queen in a less flattering light. Yet, as Richard Ormond has stated, while photography 'record[ed] her glum expression and dumpy figure without subterfuge of any kind', it also 'communicate[d] a force of character far more effectively than the facile gloss of an artist.'[5] This new medium, which revealed the Queen's 'ordinariness', also illustrated the uniqueness of her features, instead of smoothing them into contemporary standards of beauty.[6]

Of course, photography did not arise out of a vacuum. Some art historians, including Beaumont Newhall and Heinrich Schwarz, have regarded it as the outgrowth of approximately five hundred years of artistic interest in 'the mathematically exact copying of nature'.[7] Schwarz cited the extensive use of devices such as the *camera obscura*, the *machine á dessiner*, and the *camera lucida* as evidence of the growing interest in reproduction.[8] John Tagg has added to this list the physionotrace, a mechanism that engraved silhouettes as they were drawn, thus providing a replicable image.[9] Peter Galassi, who has argued that the approach taken by Newhall is 'vague and ahistorical', has instead suggested that photography is the eventual result of the invention of linear perspective in the fifteenth century.[10] While Galassi has a point regarding the tautological nature of Newhall's argument, direct connections can be made between at least some of the mechanisms mentioned by Schwarz, and the invention of photography. For example, it was the desire of artist William

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[4] *The Morning Post*, 21 August.
[5] Ormond, *The Face of the monarchy*, 36.
[6] Homans, *Royal representations*, 46.
[7] Beaumont Newhall, *The history of photography from 1839 to the present* (London, 1982), 9-11; and Heinrich Schwarz (ed.), *Art and photography: forerunners and influences* (London, 1985), 99.
[8] Schwarz, *Art and photography*, 102-104.
[9] John Tagg, *The burden of representation: essays on photographies and histories* (London, 1988), 39.
[10] Peter Galassi, *Before photography: painting and the invention of photography* (Boston, 1981), 12.

Henry Fox Talbot to fix the images resulting from his *camera lucida* that led him to invent the calotype, one of the earliest forms of photography.[11]

Beyond the taking of the photographic image itself, the collection of pictures into albums was also based on a precedent. In regards to the physical form of these volumes, Robin and Carol Wichard have suggested that their leather bindings and metal clasps were based on Bibles and prayer books, which had long acted as the family record keepers, and had been the object of group perusal. There was even a period of crossover, with Bibles made with slots for the inclusion of *cartes-de-visite* next to the pertinent information.[12] As for their contents, Martha Langford has discussed the album's roots in the eighteenth-century autograph book, which brought together tangible reminders of friends and family, as well as the occasional celebrity.[13] The Wichards drew a further comparison between the photographic albums and annuals, such as *Heath's book of beauty*. These publications had provided the viewing public with images of the Queen and the beautiful ladies in her court all in a neatly bound volume fit for ladies of taste and refinement.[14]

The images that filled these annuals were engravings, an art form that provided a frame of reference for many who were seeing photographs for the first time. In December 1843, the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861) wrote a letter to her friend, the writer Mary Russell Mitford (1787-1855), in which she likened daguerreotypes to engravings, only more 'exquisite' and 'delicate'.[15] Ten years later the *Illustrated London News* was still making the comparison, noting that 'these photographs have all the air of fine mezzo tint engravings.'[16] The visual similarities between these two media were strengthened by a common use: that of spreading the likenesses of the famous

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[11] Schwarz, *Art and photography*, 104.
[12] Robin and Carol Wichard, *Victorian cartes-de-visite* (Buckinghamshire, 1999), 75-76.
[13] Martha Langford, *Suspended conversations: the afterlife of memory in photographic albums* (London, 2001), 23.
[14] Wichard and Wichard, 45.
[15] Meredith B. Raymond and Mary Rose Sullivan (eds.), *The letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Mary Russell Mitford 1836-1854* (Waco, 1983), 358.
[16] *Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1853, 'Popular science: photography and the photographic exhibition', as quoted in Grace Seiberling and Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, photography, and the mid-Victorian imagination* (London, 1986), 33-4.

and the powerful, such as Queen Victoria, whose face was much more recognizable to the masses than her royal uncles' had been.

Even as photography in general was influenced by a wide number of factors, portrait photography had a set of progenitors of its own. While the traditions in place in oil portraits, regarding factors such as costume, accoutrements, and posing, laid the foundation for those of photography, this new medium benefitted in particular from the legacy of miniature paintings. These small portraits, whose heritage reached back to illuminated manuscripts, were personal, portable reminders of loved ones, and those who could afford the luxury exchanged them with their friends and family members.[17] Victoria and Albert themselves had inherited and amassed an impressive collection of miniatures, which they eventually donated to the Royal Collection.[18] They spent many evenings, Sunday afternoons, and rainy days organizing their collection of miniatures, looking over them together, and showing them to friends and relatives.[19] Queen Victoria's journal entries mentioning the miniatures diminish in the mid-1850s, as she begins to describe similar involvement with photographs, suggesting that, for her, the two forms of portraiture fulfilled similar functions.[20]

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[17] For further information on the portrait miniature, see Katherine Coombs, *The portrait miniature in England* (London, 1998); Marcia Pointon, '"Surrounded with brilliants": miniature portraits in eighteenth-century England', *The Art Bulletin*, 83, 1 (2001), 48-71; Julie Aronson and Marjorie E. Wieseman (eds.), *Perfect likeness: European and American portrait miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (London, 2006); and Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the gaze: intimate vision in late eighteenth-century eye miniatures* (Chicago, 2012).
[18] Richard Walker, *The eighteenth and early nineteenth century miniatures in the collection of her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1992), xxii.
[19] For some examples, see the following entries in Queen Victoria's journals: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 August 1841 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 4 July 1842 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 8 October 1843 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 24 April 1844 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 November 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 December 1850, (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 7 November 1853 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 23 December 1858 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 25 November 2014.
[20] For some examples, see the following entries in Queen Victoria's journals: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 11 May 1856 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 9 April 1858 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 27 January 1860 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA

A number of practitioners found there to be a natural transfer from miniature painting to photography. Henry Collen, miniature painter to the Queen and the Duchess of Kent, was one of those who turned to the art of photography in its early years. Regardless of whether they had roots as miniature painters, it was not uncommon for photographers to inscribe their name and address inside the outline of a palette with brushes on the back plates of their *cartes-de-visite*, further highlighting the connection between the two art forms.[21]

The path between the miniature portrait (or the physionotrace, *camera obscura*, mezzotint, or any other of the contributors to its development) and the *carte-de-visite* was no straight line, however. The actual invention of photography is a topic of considerable debate, with contenders including Johann Heinrich Schulze, who first discovered photo-sensitive compounds in about 1725; Thomas Wedgwood, whose 'sun pictures' first captured an image, albeit a fleeting one, in 1800; Nicéphore Niépce, who managed to fix a permanent picture in about 1822; William Henry Fox Talbot, who created the calotype with its negative process in 1835; and Louis Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, with his eponymous daguerreotype announced in 1839. With so many inquisitive and determined minds working towards a similar goal at the same time, an impressive variety of processes was made public, and even in the beginning, the consumer had options, each of which had its benefits.[22]

In her 1843 letter to Mary Russell Mitford, Elizabeth Barrett Browning mentioned that she had seen some daguerreotypes and was astonished by the new technology, declaring that 'the Mesmeric disembodiment of spirits strikes one as a degree less marvellous' than photography. Disembodiment was not far

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VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 November 1861 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 25 November 2014.

[21] Wichard and Wichard, 21.

[22] Duncan Macmillan, 'Born like Minerva': D. O. Hill and the origins of photography', in Mike Weaver (ed.), *British photography in the nineteenth century: the fine art tradition* (Cambridge, 1989) 25-36; Michael Pritchard (ed.), *Technology and art: the birth and early years of photography* (Bath, 1990); Heinz Henisch and Bridget Henisch, *The photographic experience 1839-1914: images and attitudes* (Pennsylvania, 1994); Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with desire: the conception of photography* (London, 1997); Denis Canguilhem, *Le merveilleux scientifique: photographies du monde savant en France 1844-1918* (Paris, 2004); and William Johnson, *A history of photography: from 1839 to the present* (London, 2005).

off the mark, as Browning remarked that the draw of the daguerreotype over the painted portrait was that it contained 'the *very shadow of the person* lying there fixed for ever!'[23] She may have been referring to the fact that the image was the result of the light reflected from the sitter's body onto the sensitized plate. Thus, the daguerreotype held within itself an element of the sitter, and was a more fitting token of their life than the painted portrait, which was mediated through the eyes and hands of the artist. While Browning maintained that she still fully appreciated the beauty of painting and the skill it required, she declared that a daguerreotype was highly preferable as a memorial of a loved one.[24] Patrizia di Bello has similarly argued that photographs combined 'the mnemonic functions of the portrait with the fetishistic charge of the lock of hair, fulfilling at once the job of the miniature and of its hair-jewellery frame, being endowed both with sympathetic and contagious magic powers.[25]

Louis Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851), an artist and chemist, had worked for years with his partner, the inventor Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833), to create the fixed, photographic image that Browning admired so keenly. After Niépce's sudden death, Daguerre continued alone to perfect the process, and, in January 1839, the French Academy of Sciences announced the invention of the daguerreotype.[26] The process involved a silvered plate that was buffed and treated with iodine, and later various other chemicals, such as chlorine and bromine, before being exposed, and then treated again to fix the image.[27] Before new chemical processes were discovered to aid in the sensitization of the plate, the exposure times were too long for portraiture. Even with the improvements, supports and clamps were necessary to keep the sitter from moving and blurring the finished image.

As thrilling as the new art form was, it came with its own set of drawbacks. Not only did the length of the exposure involve discomfort for the sitter, and thus made it difficult to maintain a pleasing expression, harsh lighting was often necessary, emphasizing blemishes and creating distorting

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[23] Raymond and Sullivan, 357-8, original emphasis.
[24] Ibid., 358.
[25] Patrizia di Bello, *Women's albums and photography in Victorian England: ladies, mothers and flirts* (Aldershot, 2007), 85.
[26] M. Susan Barger and William B. White, *The daguerreotype: nineteenth-century technology and modern science* (Washington D.C., 1991), 1.
[27] Barger and White, 28-54.

shadows.[28] Additionally, the image was reversed, causing faces to be slightly less recognizable. Many sitters were aghast at the unflattering results, especially as they tended to believe that the camera was simply reflecting nature. An article in *The Art Journal* stated that 'the photograph […] cannot deceive; in nothing can it extenuate; there is no power in this marvellous machine either to add to or take from: we know that what we see *must* be TRUE.'[29]

Furthermore, the image was a positive, meaning that it could only be replicated by taking a daguerreotype of the original image, which rarely turned out well. This was not always viewed as a downside, however, as it significantly increased the value of the image.[30] According to John Hannavy, the initially high cost of the daguerreotype limited its purchase to the same clientele as the miniature portrait.[31] The daguerreotype was also packaged the same style as a miniature, protected in an ornamental case that ranged from the simple to the ornate. However, as the daguerreotype became more common, cases were mass-produced, retaining the form from the miniature but removing the elite status of the object.[32]

In spite of the originally high cost, lack of colour, and 'coldness of tone',[33] the daguerreotype sold exceptionally well. By 1855, approximately 800 persons had opened studios in the British Isles.[34] The first of these belonged to Richard Beard (1801-1885), who had purchased the copyright from Daguerre's agent, Miles Berry. Although the copyright had initially been offered to the British government, as it had been in France, it was refused on financial grounds, and sold to Beard privately. The restraints this placed on photographers in Britain significantly slowed the development of the art in the British Isles.[35]

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[28] Elizabeth Heyert, *The glass-house years: Victorian portrait photography 1839-1870* (London, 1979), 7-9.
[29] *The Art Journal*, 1 July 1860, 'America in the stereoscope', 221, original emphasis.
[30] John Hannavy, *The Victorian professional photographer* (Aylesbury, 1980), 4.
[31] John Hannavy, *Victorian photographers at work* (Buckinghamshire, 1997), 13.
[32] John Hannavy, *Case histories: the packaging and presentation of the photographic portrait in Victorian Britain 1840-1875* (Suffolk, 2005), 16.
[33] *The Art-Union*, 1 April 1842, 'Daguerreotype portraits', 84.
[34] Pauline F. Heathcote, 'The first photographic portrait studios in the British Isles: professional foundations', in Pritchard, 88.
[35] Heathcote, 84.

Invented simultaneously with and independently of the daguerreotype was the calotype, the work of Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877). The calotype was the outcome of an almost completely different process, involving paper sensitized with silver chloride, and resulting in a usable negative. The finished image had none of the clear detail of its French cousin, but was painterly, more akin to the works of Raeburn and Rembrandt.[36] While most customers preferred the sharpness of the daguerreotype for portraiture, the reproducibility of the calotype was a serious consideration in its favour. Scientists and photographers were constantly experimenting to improve the photographic process, and by 1851, Frederick Scott Archer and Gustave Le Gray had, again simultaneously but independently, found a solution: the wet collodion process. Involving a glass plate that was sensitized, exposed, and developed within only ten to fifteen minutes, this new process combined the best aspects of daguerreotypes and calotypes – clarity and reproducibility – and eliminated the greatest drawbacks – expense and imprecision.

In France three years later, André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri (1819-1889) further reduced the cost of portrait photography, replacing its elite status with accessibility.[37] Disdéri had patented a method for immediately replicating images through the use of multiple camera lenses and a moving plate holder, allowing for six to eight images per sheet. The albumen prints were then divided and pasted to cardstock, and being roughly the size of the cards left when making calls, were referred to as *cartes-de-visite*.[38] An added benefit of the format was that the full-length figures were small enough that blemishes were not easily discernable, making retouching unnecessary, further reducing the cost.[39]

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[36] Macmillan, 36.

[37] Disdéri was appointed Victoria's Photographer in Ordinary on 12 March 1867. For more information on this early photographer, see: Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the carte de visite portrait photograph* (London, 1985).

[38] In spite of the name, they were not used as calling cards, but exchanged between friends and family members as tokens of affection. See also William C. Darrah, *Cartes de visite in nineteenth century photography* (Gettysburg, 1981); Geoffrey Batchen, 'Dreams of ordinary life: *cartes de visite* and the bourgeois imagination', in Martha Langford (ed.), *Image & imagination* (London, 2005), 63-74; and John Plunkett, 'Celebrity and community: the poetics of the carte-de-visite', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 8, 1 (2010), 55-79.

[39] Batchen, 'Dreams of ordinary life', 64; Darrah, 4.

The props that often appeared in oil portraits, such as the ubiquitous column and curtain, and which had carried through into daguerreotypes, were standard issue in the early days of *carte-de-visite* photography. Geoffrey Batchen has argued that these items, former signifiers of wealth, high social status, and power, were now 'hollow', that they were 'dead and gone, or at least safely commodified'. The bourgeoisie was performatively co-opting the image of the elite.[40] Although adopting visual cues from social superiors was no new phenomenon, the *carte-de-visite* represented the acceleration of a process that had been going on for decades, if not centuries. The affordability of the *carte-de-visite* and the rapid spread of photographic studios and itinerant photographers resulted in an unprecedented availability, and all those who could pay the nominal fee could have their portrait taken in the same format as kings and queens, emperors and empresses.

Andrea Volpe has argued that, in the United States, the *carte-de-visite* 'reduced a portrait sitter to conventional pose and formulaic form, and by doing so helped produce a collective middle-class body'.[41] Volpe does not, however, discuss the origin of these poses and forms, most of which were borrowed from royal and aristocratic portraiture. Nor does Volpe give a distinct definition of the middle-class body to which she refers. The definition of the middle class(es), the factors that separate them from the upper and lower orders, and the pinpointing of the dates of their emergence has provoked intense debate among historians.[42]

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[40] Batchen, 'Dreams of ordinary life', 67. See chapters three (121-122) and four (159-160) for examples of bourgeois clients copying royal imagery in portraiture.

[41] Andrea Volpe, 'Cartes de visite portrait photographs and the culture of class formation', in Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston (eds.), *The middling sorts: explorations in the history of the American middle class* (London, 2001), 159.

[42] See, for example, Asa Briggs 'Middle-class consciousness in English politics, 1780-1846', *Past & Present*, 9 (April 1956), 65-74; R. S. Neale, *Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1972); Peter Stears, 'The Middle Class: Toward a Precise Definition', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21, 3 (1979), 377-396; M.S. Hickox 'The English Middle-Class Debate', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 46, 2 (1995), 311-324; Patrick Joyce (ed.), *Class* (Oxford, 1995); Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the middle class: the political representation of class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995); Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (New York, 2003).

The boundaries between classes, already muddled due to the accessibility of the medium, were further blurred in the albums in which *cartes-de-visite* were carefully collected and proudly displayed. Hardly a middle-class drawing-room was without one, resting on a handy table and ready to be perused by visitors. Most followed a general formula - royals and political figures filled the opening pages, followed by artists and writers, clergy, and finally, friends and family.[43] In this format, the rich and the famous, the royal and the powerful, mingled with the solidly middle-class, sometimes even appearing on the same page. The Queen and her family appeared in thousands of these volumes beginning in 1860, when John Jabez Edwin Mayall (1813-1901) published his 'Royal Album', with the Queen's permission. The many photographs taken before this point were resolutely private, although the press often noted royal sittings. The many photographs taken in these early years form a fascinating comparison to their published counterparts, as they illustrate the royal family experimenting with this new form of portraiture, and with the identities they could project through it.

While on a visit to Brighton in 1842, Prince Albert walked into the studio of William Constable and had his photograph taken, becoming the first British royal to do so.[44] Upon his return to London soon after, he paid a visit to Richard Beard's studio on Regent Street and had more pictures taken.[45] Victoria, who mentioned these attempts in her journal, did not follow suit until the mid-1840s when an unknown person took a daguerreotype of the Queen with the Princess Royal (figure 244).[46] In this image Victoria and her daughter are surprisingly relaxed, considering the demands placed upon early sitters by the exposure times. The Princess Royal leans back against her mother, and Victoria's left arm is draped over her shoulder. Both are seated at an angle to

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[43] Wichard and Wichard, 79.
[44] *Freeman's Journal*, 10 March 1842, 'Fashion and varieties'.
[45] Charlotte Zeepvat, *Queen Victoria's family: a century of photographs 1840-1940* (Gloucestershire, 2001), vii; RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 March 1842 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 25 November 2014.
[46] This image was formerly believed to be a calotype by Henry Collen, but the discovery of the glass negative has proven it to be a daguerreotype. The plate bears the name 'Christofle', a French silversmith firm, but nothing else is known of its origins. Lyden, 130; and http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/2506821/glass-negative-of-a-daguerreotype-of-queen-victoria-and-the-princess-royal, accessed 5 May 2014.

the camera, and look ahead, seemingly unaware of the photographer. Victoria's wide skirts cover her chair and the walls are blank, leaving the figures as the sole focus. Being a private image, it is wholly suitable that it is their relationship as mother and daughter that is highlighted here, as opposed to Victoria's queenship.

One of the most striking of her early photographs was taken by Roger Fenton on 8 February 1854, showing Victoria with her four eldest children: the Princess Royal, the Prince of Wales, Princess Alice, and Prince Alfred (figure 245).[47] The figures are linked physically, each of them touching at least one of the others. Three of them, including the Queen, gaze directly at the camera, almost confronting the viewer. This is unusual, as in the majority of photographs Victoria is either in profile, or looking slightly to the side. The Queen wears a plain dress and is wrapped in a tartan shawl, which is a reminder of her private home in Scotland where she and her family could, to some degree, escape the pressures of royal life. She wears nothing on her head, and the only jewellery visible are some simple earrings and a chatelaine – a specifically domestic accessory - dangling down her skirt.[48]

A similar photograph (figure 246) of Victoria and five of her children had been taken by William Kilburn (1818-1891)[49] two years earlier, but had decidedly not met with the Queen's approval. While she stated in her journal that 'the Children's were pretty', she complained that 'mine was unfortunately horrid' – apparently she had closed her eyes during the exposure.[50] Victoria

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[47] For further information on Fenton and his works, see the following: John Hannavy, *Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall* (London, 1975); Hayward Gallery, *Roger Fenton: photographer of the 1850s* (London, 1988); Gordon Baldwin, *Roger Fenton: pasha and bayadère* (Los Angeles, 1996); and Gordon Baldwin et al, *All the mighty world: the photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852-1860* (London, 2004).
[48] For information on nineteenth-century fashion and accessories, see Johnston et al, *Nineteenth-century fashion in detail*; Susan Hiner, *Accessories to modernity: fashion and the feminine in nineteenth-century France* (Philadelphia, 2010); and Cristina Giorcelli and Paula Rabinowitz (eds.), *Fashioning the nineteenth century* (Minneapolis, 2014).
[49] By 1848, William Kilburn was styling himself as 'Photographist to Her Majesty and His Royal Highness Prince Albert'. http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk/letters/transcriptName.php?bcode=Malo-TA&pageNumber=9&pageTotal=51&referringPage=0**,** accessed 9 May 2014. Unfortunately, there is very little biographical information available on Kilburn.
[50] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 January 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 25 November 2014.

defaced her head in the picture, illustrating the strength of her feelings regarding her pictorial image, and her readiness to edit when she felt it necessary.[51] The Fenton portrait, however, appears to have met her standards. The intimacy of his photograph, in its posed yet informal grouping, in the plainness of their attire, and in the directness of their interaction with the viewer, set this image apart from the formal paintings that had preceded it.

The contrast between Fenton's photograph and Winterhalter's official painting of the royal family eight years earlier (figure 132), which mixed the formal and royal with the familial, is particularly stark. While that image toured around the nation, was engraved for mass consumption, and hung where many visitors would see it, this photograph was meant for private use only. This did not mean that nobody outside of the royal family saw it, but suggests that those who did would have been invited to do so by Victoria or Albert personally. Small enough to hold, the experience of viewing this image would also have been intimate, when compared to seeing a large oil painting that had been hung on a wall.[52] Fenton's photograph showcases Victoria as woman and mother, not in the queenly sense, as there is no special emphasis on her heir, the Prince of Wales, but in the strictly domestic sense. In fact, Bertie, with whom she had a difficult relationship, is positioned farthest from his mother, and is the only one not to reach out to her.

Victoria first mentioned Roger Fenton in her journal on 3 January 1854, one month before this photograph was taken. She, along with her retinue, had gone into London to see the first exhibition of The Photographic Society of London, held in the rooms of the Society of British Artists on Suffolk Street, where Fenton had acted as their guide and 'explained everything'.[53] He appeared in her journal a number of times over the next few months, as she recorded him photographing the royals in a number of configurations. One set

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[51] Scott, *The royal portrait*, 154-155. John Plunkett has also noted that, according to an article in *The Times* in April 1863, the Princess Royal and Princess Alice had retouched some of Mayall's photographs. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria*, 189.

[52] Stephen Lloyd and Kim Sloan, *The intimate portrait: drawings, miniatures and pastels from Ramsay to Lawrence* (Edinburgh, 2008), chapter 1.

[53] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 January 1854 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 25 November 2014. The Photographic Society of London became The Photographic Society of Great Britain in 1874, and in 1894 was renamed The Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain, with the Queen's support.

of pictures, taken on 11 May 1854 after Victoria and Albert had held a Drawing Room at St. James's, is almost surprising in its formality, considering that these, too, were private images.[54]

One picture (figure247) shows Victoria posed alone, seated facing forward, but looking down and to one side. She wore full court dress, jewellery, and the Order of the Garter. According to Roger Taylor, this picture 'marks the moment when the queen decided to reveal herself before the camera as a sovereign rather than as a wife and mother.'[55] While Taylor is correct that her clothing clearly points to her high status and her royal duties, and is indeed a departure from the previous photographs, he quickly brushes past her 'fittingly demure and thoughtful pose' to focus on the picture's regal trappings. Demure is not an adjective typically associated with a sovereign, but it is commonly used regarding the images included in the *Court album* and *Heath's book of beauty*. The engravings published in these volumes showcased the young and beautiful women of the aristocracy, presenting them in a particular, hyper-feminine manner. The 1849 edition of *The book of beauty; or regal gallery* included a portrait of Victoria (figure 248), which exemplifies this style.[56] In Fenton's photograph, Victoria is presenting a mix of power and femininity, which is particularly interesting as it was not meant for public distribution and reassurance, but was most likely the outcome of Victoria and Fenton's own interpretation of her position as a female sovereign.

About one month before Fenton took the court pictures, Victoria also posed for Antoine François Jean Claudet (1797-1867).[57] Claudet, who had made his living importing French glass before opening a photographic studio, was particularly interested in stereography.[58] Although the stereoscopic image of the Queen in the Royal Collection (figure 249) is credited to an unknown

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[54] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 11 May 1854 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 25 November 2014.
[55] Roger Taylor, '"Mr. Fenton explained everything": Queen Victoria and Roger Fenton' in Baldwin et al, *All the mighty world*, 79.
[56] For a further discussion of these paintings in relation to the *Court Album* and *Heath's Book of Beauty*, see pages 81-82.
[57] For further information on Claudet, see the following: Antoine Claudet, *A. Claudet, F.R.S.: a memoir* (London, 1868); and Linda Vance Sevey, 'Antoine François Jean Claudet (1797-1867)' (Rochester Institute of Technology MFA thesis, 1975).
[58] Sevey, 5, 42. Claudet was appointed Stereoscopic photographist to Her Majesty on 9 July 1855.

photographer, with a note that it was 'after Antoine Claudet', the viewing case bears Claudet's patent, secured in March 1853, and the original image may have resulted from this sitting.

The stereoscope placed two identical images side by side, which the brain then combined, resulting in a field of depth that made the picture appear three-dimensional. Portraiture had always been a way for the absent to be present, and the added depth made it seem as though the Queen were physically there, in front of the viewer. Previously, oil paintings had provided colour, statues three dimensions, and the daguerreotype had given a degree of realism, imperfect and subjective though it was, to the representation of the sitter. Stereoscopic images such as this, which has been hand coloured, combined all of these elements to bring forth the Queen's presence in a way no art form had been able to do previously.

The tinting of this particular image draws it one step closer to the traditional oil portrait. Some, including Henry Hunt Snelling, early historian of photography, were critics of this practice. Snelling wrote in 1849 that, 'I very much doubt the propriety of coloring the daguerreotypes, as I am of opinion that they are little, if any, improved by the operation, at least as it is now generally practised. […]. The method now pursued […] is on the whole ruinous to any daguerreotype, and to a perfect one absolutely disgusting.' He hoped that, in the future, the camera itself would be capable of colouring the image, rendering hand-tinting unnecessary.[59] In the mean time, he gave instructions for those intrepid daguerreotypists who wished to colour their pictures. He wrote, 'The rules we shall give for coloring Daguerreotypes depends (sic), and are founded, upon those observed in miniature painting', and advised all who wished to colour photographs to first visit artists' studios and any collections where the masterly use of colour in paintings could be viewed.[60]

In spite of Snelling's objections, tinted images sold well, and were continually in demand. While it was most likely the increased naturalism of a well-painted daguerreotype that was the main draw, it is possible that the connection to the fine arts enhanced the picture's allure in the eyes of some discerning clients. Many practitioners, including Claudet, believed that

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[59] Henry Hunt Snelling, *The history and practice of the art of photography…* (New York, 1849), 76.
[60] Ibid., 130, 133.

photography deserved to be recognized as a fine art on a par with miniatures and full-size oil paintings. Claudet, who was deeply involved in the campaign for artistic recognition, firmly believed that 'to produce photographs deserving to be looked at, […] requires thought, taste, judgement and refinement'. He further stated that he believed there to be 'as much art in the result as in any of the so-called fine arts.'[61] The stereoscopic image of Victoria is certainly indicative of this level of care.

The Queen is depicted wearing a pale blue dress that coordinates with the brighter blue of her Garter sash, from which hangs the Lesser George. She is bedecked with jewellery, including earrings, bracelets, and an impressive pearl necklace. She stands, steadied by a chair, and holds a handkerchief in her left hand and a fan in her right. Her hair is drawn back into an ornate white headdress, which echoes the flowers placed on a table to her right. The background behind her is plain, drawing no attention away from her figure. Her body faces front, while her head is turned to her left, looking out of the picture plane with a serious expression.

This is, again, a surprisingly formal image, considering that it was not published. It brings to mind some portraits by Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805-1873), especially those painted in 1844-5 (figure 51) and 1856 (figure 63). In the former, created ten years before the photograph, the Queen wears an evening gown of a similar cut, with a wide-necked, lace-trimmed bodice that is adorned by a brooch at centre front, and by the Garter sash. Clearly idealized, as well as a decade younger, she directly regards the viewer with a calm, regal expression. The effect is heightened by dramatic lighting, but is somewhat balanced by the floral wreath that replaces her crown. The portrait, dated 1856, amplifies the drama with Victoria's bright red gown trimmed with black lace, and instead of slightly sidestepping her monarchy with flowers, fully embraces it with the Regal Circlet, in addition to the Koh-i-noor diamond, Coronation necklace, Garter sash, and the Lesser George. In this image she is positioned much as she had been in the stereoscopic daguerreotype, with her body almost facing forward, but her face turned to one side. In the painting, however, her

[61] Claudet, A. "On the classification of the international exhibition of 1862 as regards photography," *The photographic journal*, v (August 15, 1861), 241), as quoted in Severy, 11.

gaze is level, whereas in the photograph she looks slightly downward, with a hint of demureness.

However, when this photograph is juxtaposed with Claudet's 1855 stereoscopic portrait of Selena Frewen (figure 250), it seems to have as much in common with this standard portrait of a middle-class woman as it did with Winterhalter's majestic portrayals. Miss Frewen stands supported by a chair, more ornate than Victoria's, and also holds a fan. A curtain, which is noticeably absent from the Queen's photograph, relieves the plain background, and Frewen's wider skirt obviated the need for a small plant to balance the image. In Claudet's picture Victoria is not just woman, nor just Queen, but she strikes a balance between the two. Furthermore, she is Victoria herself, with relatively little idealisation compared with the vast majority of the painted images that preceded and followed it.

The first photograph of the royal family to be published in any form, and thereby to enter the public domain inhabited by these paintings, was taken by Leonida Caldesi (1823-1891) and Mattia Montecchi (1816-1871) in May 1857 (figure 251), and then published by Colnaghi (figure 252).[62] Victoria, Albert, and all nine of their children gathered on the terrace at Osborne House two days after the Queen's thirty-eighth birthday. As Anne M. Lyden has noted, it is revealing that this first photographic image of Victoria made available to her subjects was a casual, if staged, picture of the family, as opposed to one of the Queen alone, which could have acted as a patron portrait; a tightly controlled, authorized model on which the Queen's likeness was to be based.[63] Comparing this image to one taken two months earlier (figure 253), also by Caldesi, and also set in the open air at Osborne House, shows how carefully staged it was. The placement of the sitters is nearly identical, although for the latter image, the Prince Consort and Prince of Wales were moved from near the centre of the image to the outer edge of the group. Apparently this arrangement was satisfactory enough to be repeated in the image that was then made public.

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[62] Anne M. Lyden, '"As we are": exploring the royal we in photographs of Queen Victoria', in Anne M. Lyden (ed.), *A royal passion: Queen Victoria and photography* (Los Angeles, 2014), 135.

[63] Lyden, 'As we are',136. Roy Strong discusses Queen Elizabeth I's control over her image and portraiture, which provides a striking contrast for Victoria's relatively lax attitude on the topic. Roy Strong, *Gloriana: the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987).

A close comparison of the original and the version that was published by Colnaghi (figure 254) show how much the picture was retouched before being printed, giving it much more the appearance of a painting than a photograph. Such retouching was quite common at the time, and in this case serves both to flatter the sitters, and to make them more easily recognizable. Princess Louise, who stands to the left of the Queen and wears a dark bonnet and coat, was probably too young to stand still for the length of the exposure, resulting in a blurred face. The retoucher corrected this, giving the princess clearly defined features. While Prince Leopold, who stands in profile at the edge of the group, managed to stand still, his features blend in with the wall behind him. This, too, was corrected, so that his face was more readily distinguishable from the background. More aesthetic changes, however, can be seen in the cases of the Princess Royal and Queen Victoria herself. The Princess Royal's mouth has been given a slight upturn in the print, creating the look of pleasurable animation that was encouraged by photographers, but proved elusive due to the relatively long exposure times.[64] From Victoria's face, the signs of age have been smoothed out and she looks at the infant Beatrice with an expression of content contemplation, rather than exhaustion.

In March 1858, the picture was on display at the Colnaghi's gallery on Pall-Mall, and according to an advertisement in the *Morning Post*, was to be seen alongside portraits of the Princess Royal and the Empress Eugénie by Franz Xaver Winterhalter, and a photograph of the Princess Royal's bridesmaids, also by Caldesi. The price of admission to admire this royal grouping was one shilling per person.[65] Two weeks later, Colnaghi and Co. were again advertising in the *Morning Post*, this time to announce the sale of prints of Caldesi's photograph of the royal family, which could be had on cardboard with glass for £2 2s, or on plain paper for £1 1s.[66] While still a luxury item, the picture was far more affordable than many of the fine prints of the Queen's painted portraits, which could cost anywhere between £4 4s and £15 15s.[67] In a

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[64] Heyert, 7-9.
[65] *Morning Post*, 22 March 1858.
[66] *Morning Post*, 8 April 1858.
[67] For example, an engraving of Hayter's painting of the Queen's Coronation was advertised for £4 4s, with proofs available for £8 8s, and proofs before letters for £12 12s (*Norfolk Chronicle*, 10 September 1842). Charles Robert Leslie's representation of the same event was advertised at of £12 12s for

bid to increase sales and exposure, the picture went on tour, and in May it was advertised as being on view at a gallery in Manchester. The *Manchester Times* declared that, 'such a remembrance will some future day become valuable beyond its artistic qualities.'[68]

The lack of royal accoutrements in this image, combined with the presence of the children portrayed behaving age appropriately, points to the emphasis that Victoria and Albert placed on family values, and highlights the ways in which they relaxed the presentation of their monarchy and allied themselves with the middle classes. However, the large terrace on which they pose was clearly identifiable as Osborne House, which was hardly a middle-class dwelling. Another indicator of their wealth and status is the statue of Urania in the alcove behind them. One of eleven zinc statues commissioned by Prince Albert to decorate the gardens of Osborne House, it brought to mind the aristocratic Grand Tour, as well as the collections of antique statuary amassed by royalty and aristocracy across Europe.[69]

Around the time of the family portrait, Caldesi , whom Victoria deemed a 'new and very clever man', also photographed the Queen alone (figure 255).[70] She stands on a patterned carpet, and to her right can be seen the edge of a column. A curtain covers most of the full-length window behind her, puddling on the floor to her left. Plants can be seen on the other side of the window, suggesting a greenhouse or conservatory, and the reflection of light on the glass panels provides further visual stimuli, distracting from the Queen's figure. Additionally, the varied elements of her ensemble, from the beribboned cap to the fringed shawl and her tiered gown, compete for the viewer's attention. The pull of her skirts, the positioning of her hands, and the turn of her head suggest that she was walking through the room until something off camera caught her eye. It is, overall, a more whimsical and informal image than the photographs that would become public, and certainly more so than her painted portraits.

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prints with Dedication and £15 15s for proofs with Royal Arms and Title (*Norfolk Chronicle*, 10 September 1842).

[68] *Manchester Times*, 22 May 1858.

[69] For a further discussion of the Grand Tour, antique statuary in general, and Albert and Victoria's interest in it and collection of it, see chapter six (204-205).

[70] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 April 1857 (Princess Beatrice's copies). It is possible that this photograph is from the session on 25 June, which Victoria recorded in her journal. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 June 1857 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 25 November 2014.

The privacy, speed, and relatively low cost of these images allowed Victoria and her photographers to experiment in ways that had been impossible, or at least impractical, previously.

Also in the Royal Collection is a picture taken by Caldesi of the Honourable Louisa Gordon (d. 1910) and the Honourable Eleanor Stanley (1821-1903), who were both serving as ladies in waiting at the time (figure 256). Clearly taken in the same space as Victoria's portrait, the camera had been moved farther back to accommodate the two figures. This reveals that the carpet seems a hasty addition, folded under to fit, highlighting the spontaneous nature of these photographs. The ladies' gowns are slightly simpler than Victoria's, and while one carries a hat, suggesting the outdoors, neither wears a shawl, thus limiting the distraction of extra layers and fripperies. Being unmarried, their heads are also free of frivolous caps such as the one worn by their royal mistress. This image of two of Victoria's ladies underscores the posed nature of these photographs, which was suitable for private viewing and also created a body of work and experience that the Queen and her photographers could build upon when taking images that would be made public.

In May 1860, Mayall held a photographic session with members of the royal family. At the time, the family was in mourning for Victoria's brother-in-law Ernst I, Prince of Hohenloe-Langenburg (1794-1860), who had married her half sister Feodora (1807-1872). However, an exception was made for the three-year old Princess Beatrice, who wore a pale evening gown in her solo portrait. Additionally, Princes Arthur and Leopold were portrayed in Highland dress, and the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred in military uniform. The family's simple mourning attire merited mention although little discussion in the contemporary press, but must be taken into account when forming a comparison with other photographs.[71] While the pictures in this set do express a certain seriousness, similar poses and expressions are visible in a later session with Mayall suggesting that they were driven by a general sense of decorum, as opposed to being proper attitudes for a public presentation of grief.

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[71] For information on mourning attire, see Lou Taylor, *Mourning dress: a costume and social history* (London, 1983).

In August 1860, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert allowed Mayall to publish his 'Royal Album', which consisted of fourteen *cartes-de-visite* of the royal family that had been selected from the photographs taken in May. Both *The Times* and the *London Standard* commented on the lack of royal regalia and the focus on 'domestic pursuits' in these pictures, the latter publication declaring that, as a result, the images were endowed with 'an air of novelty'. The author further admired the representation of the monarch and her family, 'engaged in their ordinary occupations', which seemed to 'afford the public a legitimate peep into the privacy of the Royal apartments, and give a decided charm to this publication.'[72] The *Sheffield Independent* spoke appreciatively of seeing the royals 'not in the blaze of power and state, but in the tranquillity of a refined domestic life',[73] while the *Leicester Journal* averred with satisfaction that these pictures reproduced the 'lineaments of the royal race' with 'a homely truth'.[74]

The album opened with a picture of Prince Albert seated, reading, with Victoria standing next to him; next came Victoria holding Beatrice on her lap; followed by single portraits of the Queen and the Prince Consort; and then the royal children, in pairs and alone. There were no more than two figures per image, most likely due to exposures being simpler that way, and because a larger grouping would have necessitated such a shrinking of scale that the faces would have been difficult to see clearly. For those determined to have the whole family in one picture, however, photomontages were available. Some simply overlapped the portraits in rows (figure 257), while others (figures 258, 259) attempted a more realistic grouping of the family members, along the lines of what had been seen in the Caldesi picture (figure 253). The album included an additional four slots, into which the purchaser could place his or her own choice of photographs to round out the collection.[75]

Differing descriptions of the album in the contemporary press suggest that there were multiple versions available. For example, a piece in the *London*

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[72] *The Times*, 16 August 1860, 'The Royal Album'; *London Standard*, 16 August 1860.
[73] *Sheffield Independent*, 18 August 1860.
[74] *Leicester Journal*, 24 August 1860.
[75] Langford, *Suspended conversations*, 41. Such a configuration was also described in a contemporary newspaper review: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 August 1860.

Standard told of a screen, with the portraits of the Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur enlarged and given central positioning instead of the Queen, as one might have expected.[76] The example in the collection of the National Media Museum (figure 260) is in the form of a leather-bound fold-out wallet, and contains fifteen images. The additional portrait is of the Princess Royal, who was by then married and living in Germany. *The Era* advertised such a set, suggesting that it was an existing option, and not just the choice of that particular collector.[77] The summary in the *Belfast Morning News* also enumerated fifteen photographs, although instead of including one of the Princess Royal, it mentioned one of the Queen reading, while the Prince Consort stood behind her, as well as the reversed pose that was listed in the majority of the descriptions.[78]

The majority of these albums, then, contained three images of the Queen: one with Prince Albert (figure 261), one with her youngest child, Beatrice (figure 262), and one by herself (figure 263).[79] The first clearly emphasises her role as wife, the second as mother, while the third barely hints at her sovereignty. The picture of the Queen and Prince Consort is particularly interesting, as it was one of a number of configurations of this pose that could have been chosen. In some versions, it was the Queen who was seated, and the Prince who stood near her shoulder (figure 264), as in the extra image in the *Belfast Morning News* edition of the album. The questions of positioning in the published image – whether the Queen was on the left or right, of gaze, and of occupation – have been examined, but not in the context of the rejected pictures, or of the wider traditions of *carte-de-visite* portraiture.[80]

In her study of these photographs, Margaret Homans concluded that these images prioritised Victoria's 'proper wifely humility, subordination, even abjection' over her sovereignty, noting that 'declassing and gender subordination paradoxically confirm Victoria's highest ambitions, to lead by her

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[76] *London Standard*, 16 August 1860.
[77] *The Era*, 19 August 1860.
[78] *Belfast Morning News*, 22 August 1860, 'The royal album'.
[79] According to *The Morning Post*, another edition was released one year later, which included five single portraits of the Queen. Unfortunately, it gives no further detail to indicate which pictures were added. *The Morning Post*, 17 August 1861.
[80] For an example, see the section 'Photographic Realism's Abject Queens', in chapter one of Homans, *Royal representations*, 43-57.

example a middle-class nation.'[81] However, not all of the images taken exemplified the submissive wife, as in some cases, Albert seems to defer to Victoria, regardless of whether she is standing or seated. Homans asserted that the many ways in which the figures were positioned, and the meanings that could be extrapolated from their poses, suggest that Victoria, Albert, and Mayall 'anticipated the public would like to see their Queen in a variety of ideologically contradictory attitudes.'[82] While this is possible, it is also likely that these contradictions in pose and hierarchy resulted less from a coherent strategy than from the inconsistent viewpoints held by each of the sitters and the photographer. The sitting may well have been viewed as an opportunity to experiment with the visual representation of ideas and relationships that were not entirely clear to the parties involved.

Whether it was the plan to please an ambiguously-minded public, or simply the outcome of their own vacillating ideas on womanhood and sovereign power, it is clear that this group of photographs is complicated and contradictory in its presentation of the queen's sovereignty and submissiveness. However, it should be acknowledged that some of the varied positioning of figures may have simply been an attempt to reconcile the height difference between the Queen and her Prince Consort. The pose showing one seated and the other standing is one way to skirt around the issue, while showing the couple as though they were actively interacting. Thus, who is standing and who is sitting does not necessarily imply dominance, although that may well have been an important factor.

Mayall returned to the Palace to take another set of royal photographs in March 1861, and the range of poses, while different, was as varied and ambiguous as the last set. Now out of mourning, Victoria wore a dark gown trimmed with wide bands of pale material with a dark check, which corresponded to Albert's striped waistcoat. Their ensembles adhere to the directions given by Mayall to his customers, as published in an 1855 treatise on photography. The author quoted Mayall's suggestions, which include the following:

> LADIES are informed that dark silks and satins are best for dresses; shot silk, checked, striped, or figured materials are good, provided they be

[81] Ibid., 55.
[82] Ibid., 51.

> not too light. The colours to be avoided are white, light blue, and pink. The only dark material unsuited is black velvet. For GENTLEMEN, black, figured, check, plaid, or other fancy vests and neckerchiefs are preferred to white.[83]

It is unknown whether Mayall had any direct control over the clothing worn by his royal sitters, but considering their choices, it is likely that they were aware of the limitations of the medium in representing dress.

Again, Mayall and his royal sitters experimented with levels and sight lines. In one image, Albert leans on a set piece, bringing him to only a head taller than the Queen (figure 265). While his arm is behind her, there is no suggestion of physical contact, and their gazes follow opposite directions. Victoria's wide skirts dominate the bottom half of the image, giving her a strong base, while Albert leans in, slightly off-kilter. In a second image from that session, Victoria stands on a step, which brings her face closer to Albert's, although he still towers over her due to his top hat. She, on the other hand, who had the right to wear a crown, holds her hat in her hands, and looks downward, with a parasol languishing in her right arm (figure 266). Albert's top hat reappears in yet another sitting with Mayall, although this time Victoria does not go bareheaded (figure 267). She wears a pale plaid gown with a simple, wide skirt, much of which is hidden under a large, loose, dark mantle. Prince Albert wears his frock coat open, possibly to show his plaid waistcoat, which again coordinates with but does not match Victoria's dress.

A strikingly similar image had been taken of Napoléon III and Empress Eugénie (figure 268) in 1859.[84] The French *carte*, which came into Albert's possession at some point between its creation in 1859 and his death in 1861, shows the Emperor dressed for an outdoor promenade, carrying a cane and wearing a top hat, making him appear taller than his wife. Napoléon faces the viewer directly, with a straightforward gaze. Eugénie, who is on his left arm, is also dressed for the out-of-doors. Eugénie had a reputation for fine dress, and helped to launch the career of Charles Frederick Worth, the first modern couturier. She wears an elegant gown, with its fashionable layers edged by velvet giving it added stiffness and shape, which is accompanied by a fitted

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[83] Cuthbert Bede, B.A., *Photographic pleasures* (London, 1855), 41.
[84] See further discussion of Empress Eugénie in chapters two (93-94), three (129-133), and four (164-165).

mantle and a stylishly trimmed bonnet. She is turned slightly, perhaps better to show her gown with its wide skirts, and looks toward the viewer as well. In spite of their apparent readiness to step out of doors, they are posed inside, standing on a figured carpet, and in front of a blank wall with a curtain hanging to the Emperor's right.

One immediately noticeable difference between the two royal photographs is the fact that the positions of husband and wife are reversed in the images. In both pictures, it is the reigning monarch who stands on the left, a choice that is repeated in Angel Alonso Martinez's image of Isabella II of Spain and her King Consort, Francis (figure 269). Dressed for indoors, Francis has no top hat to create a silhouette that could in any way dominate his wife's. Isabella's gown, with its wide skirts, bell-shaped sleeves, and pale colour, occupy a much larger portion of the image than Francis's dark, awkwardly fitting suit. Just as in the other two images, the couple is placed on a figured carpet, in front of a blank wall, and to one side of a draped curtain. All outward symbols of their royal status are absent from the photograph, which instead gives them a distinctly middle class air, a tactic adopted by all three royal couples. They are all, however, undeniably wealthy and fashionable, particularly in the case of Eugénie.

Returning to Mayall's royal album to explore Victoria's presentation not just as wife but also as mother, in the second image, Victoria holds the young Princess Beatrice on her lap (figure 262). Victoria is seated on one end of what appears to be a low, dark sofa. The carpeted step remains between the sitters and the viewer, and the blank wall behind her does nothing to distract from the figures. Victoria and Beatrice, both dressed in mourning for the Queen's brother-in-law, Prince Ernst of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, wear coordinating gowns, seemingly cut from the same cloth. Although Beatrice rests her hand on Victoria's arms, which are wrapped around her, there is no connection of gaze. Beatrice, who is seen in profile, looks straight ahead, and Victoria looks slightly down and to one side. Neither face is graced by a smile, which, while a result of the long exposure times still necessary in photography, marks a significant difference between *carte-de-visite* portraits and the oils of the Queen done formerly. While she did not smile in Grant's portrait of Victoria with the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales in 1842 (figure 126), her resting face

was graceful and regal. The photographic 'reality' almost two decades later was a dowdier, heavier, and almost leaden expression.

Interestingly, there is no comparable image of Victoria with the Prince of Wales. Although the Queen had commissioned oil portraits of the two of them, which acted as firm reminders of the line of royal succession, as well as advertisements of the strength and durability of the royal family itself, she did not have similar photographs taken for the Royal Album. The Empress Eugénie, however, did pose with her son (figure 270). It must be taken into account, of course, that the Prince Imperial was her only child, and that the French monarchy was significantly less stable than the British, both politically and dynastically. While Victoria's claim to the throne went back for generations, Napoléon's position was much less tenable. Additionally, Victoria had nine children through whom the succession could pass, while the Emperor only had one.

In this photograph, attributed to Delessert, Eugénie is seated and the Prince Imperial stands in front of her, to one side. She clasps his left hand in hers, and her right hand cradles his head, on which she rests her own. The dark lace shawl wrapped around her shoulders bleeds into his dark suit, further linking the two figures. While a more emotive image than that of Victoria and Beatrice, it is no less stiff or staged. A picture of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, with her young son Robert Wiedemann Browning (figure 271), illustrates how non-regal these royal images were. Just as Victoria and Eugénie had done, Browning sits, wearing an elegant yet relatively simple gown, and maintains a physical connection with her child. The wall behind the pair is blank, and the flooring is lightly patterned. This photographic representation of the affectionate bond between mother and child varied little regardless of the situation of the mother – whether she be a queen regnant, a consort, or a poet.

What about images of the Queen by herself? The third photograph of Victoria in the royal album (figure 263) showed her seated next to a table with books, leaning her left elbow on the arm of the chair, and resting her hand against her face. She looks downward, possibly at the item that she holds in her lap, along with the fan. Her body occupies a little over half of the image, leaving the top section empty. It was a conscious choice, then, although who made the decision is unclear, to present Victoria to the public in this manner, seated

casually and with her attention absorbed elsewhere, instead of in a standing position that could give as much information about her physicality to the viewer as possible.

One such image (figure 272) shows the Queen standing alone on the ubiquitous set of patterned carpet and blank wall. She rests her hands at her waist and holds what appears to be a white handkerchief. The empty space above her head seems to emphasize her small stature, and the carpeting drops down at the front, covering a step that separates the Queen from the viewer. This image was engraved and published in the *Illustrated News of the World*, with slight changes to the background most likely for visual appeal (figure 273).[85] Her face is also turned farther to the side, and she appears younger and more attractive than in the photograph.

Comparing these pictures of Victoria to those of women in her court circle can reveal how closely these images were tied to traditional representations of womanhood, and in what ways, if any, her queenship came to the fore.[86] For example, the Duchess of Argyll (1824-1878), who served as Lady of the Bedchamber from 1868 to 1870, was photographed in the early 1860s by Thomas Rodger (figure 274). She, like Queen Victoria, stands facing three-quarters to the left, with her hands resting at her waist. She stands on a plain, carpeted floor, and is backed against a wall between a houseplant, a curtain, and a bannister. Interestingly, it is the Duchess's portrait, and not the Queen's, that features the draped curtain so common in royal and aristocratic portraiture.[87] The Duchess, who had freer rein with her wardrobe as she was not in mourning, is still dressed relatively plainly, and her pose and expression are as vacant and demure as Victoria's.

Anne, Duchess of Atholl (1814-1897), who had served as Victoria's Mistress of the Robes from 1852-1853, and as a Lady of the Bedchamber until her death in 1897, was photographed in a similar pose, although with a busier

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[85] *Illustrated News of the World*, 'Drawing-room portrait gallery of eminent personages', 1861.

[86] Many of the women whose photographs are examined in this section were also discussed in chapter two, when their oil portraits were compared to Victoria's.

[87] The draped curtain was one of the standard set pieces in formal state portraiture, along with a column and gilded furniture. Lloyd, 'Portraits of sovereigns', 60.

background (figure 275). She faces to the right, although turned to gaze at the viewer, and she rests her hands on the back of a chair. Behind her is a column that has been draped with brocaded fabric, and another piece of embellished fabric is placed over a set piece behind the chair. There is enough space around the top half of the Duchess's figure to allow for the viewer's eye to easily find, and then settle on her, but compared to the nearly ascetic images of Victoria, the Duchess seems crowded by the status-exhibiting and enhancing accoutrements, conventional though they may have been.

Also shown standing was Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, who was photographed by Camille Silvy on 27 May 1861 (figure 276).[88] She leans her right elbow on a high toilette table, on which is set a mirror, which reflects the back of her head and her coiled hair. This device, of capturing two images in one with the help of a mirror, was increasingly common in this period. The pleats and bows that adorn her bodice, the ornate table and mirror to her right, the potted plant on her left, the striped wall behind her, and the curtain at the edge of the picture surround the Marchioness, nearly overpowering her visually. Again, this photograph illustrates just how bare and focused Mayall's image of the Queen standing alone (figure 272) was.

Of course, not all of the published pictures of Victoria were as austere as these two examples by Mayall. In another photograph he took in 1861 (figure 277), the Queen leans against a large column that is partially obscured by a draped, brocaded curtain. Although the background is still blank and her gown is simple, she is dwarfed by the props. The former symbols of status that were nearly ubiquitous in painted royal portraits have become almost trite. The billowing curtain that waved and curled in oil is now gravity-bound, and the column fares little better. Owned by the studio, these props could be inserted into any portrait at no additional cost to the photographer, negating skill that was once required to portray them effectively. A similar image of Eugénie was taken by Olympe Aguado de las Marismas in 1860 (figure 278). She, too, leans against a column that is partially wrapped in drapery. The curtain is secured underneath her elbow, which on the one hand prevents it from overwhelming

[88] For further information on Camille Silvy, see Mark Haworth-Booth, *Camille Silvy: photographer of modern life* (London, 2010).

her figure and allows the eye to rest on her face, but on the other quite removes the majesty of the free-flowing curtain formerly seen in oils.

The photographs of Victoria seated, however, tended to be simpler, allowing the viewer's focus to remain on her. Another picture (figure 279) that was published as a *carte-de-visite* was the 1860 image credited to William Henry Southwell, in which Victoria again appears in the plaid dress, dark mantle, and pale bonnet that she wore in the picture with Albert (figure 267). She seems to have been photographed in the same space as well, and the carpeted step once again rises between the monarch and the viewer, although this time it is largely covered by her wide skirt. This image, however, includes a panel of the curtain that was conspicuously lacking in the previous one. Victoria is seated at a desk, facing three-quarters to the left, and is employed in reading a letter or pamphlet, to which she seems to give her entire concentration. It is entirely likely that Victoria's activity might have reminded viewers of the work she did every day with the dispatch boxes and official correspondence. However, this is clearly staged, while the more famous 1893 photograph of the Queen working through correspondence in the gardens at Frogmore (figure 280) was most likely posed, but adapted from a real-life moment.[89]

At about the same time as the Southwell image, the Duchess of Argyll appears in another picture, this one by Samuel Alexander Walker (figure 281). She, too, is seated, again facing three-quarters to the left. She gazes into the distance, apparently lost in thought, with one hand on a print or photograph that rests on the desk in front of her. As in Southwell's picture of Victoria, it is a contrived pose, and not a moment of her daily business caught on camera. The wall behind her is plain, except for the curtain that hangs at one edge. She is possibly wearing the same shawl as in the previous image, and although she has changed gowns, this one is similarly restrained. Frances, Viscountess Jocelyn (1820-1880) posed similarly in 1860 for a photograph taken by Camille Silvy (figure 282). She is portrayed seated, holding a leather-bound volume, possibly a photographic album, on her lap. She is simply dressed in a dark gown with white under bodice and sleeves, and a delicate cap. The background is

[89] In her journal, Victoria mentioned reading and writing while sitting under the trees at Frogmore, which she did often. RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 May 1893 and 26 June 1893 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 25 November 2014.

complicated, with a mullioned window, column, curtain, and what seems to be the corner of a desk, all on a patterned carpet. The formula of a well but simply dressed woman posed stiffly at a desk or with a volume is repeated in both the royal and non-royal photographs, although Victoria's is devoid of the plethora of background items that would distract from her royal presence.

A rare pre-Crimean War photograph of Florence Nightingale (figure 283) comes closest to the Queen's royal album picture. Taken in 1854 by William Edward Kilburn, who had also photographed Victoria, Nightingale is seated on a chair turned to one side, which has been placed against a plain background and floor. She holds a fan in her lap and looks down, lost in thought, and disregarding the photographer. Her dress is simple, as she preferred it, and there are no other accoutrements in the image. Florence Nightingale, who did not enjoy having her portrait taken, no matter what the format, and who became famous for actions that defied expectations of women of her class, was portrayed here in the same vein as the Queen, illustrating the strength of the traditions of portraying women in *carte-de-visite* portraiture. The final, and by far the most formal, photograph of the Queen to be published before the death of the Prince Consort was taken in November 1861, when the photographer Charles Clifford (1819-1863) arrived at Windsor Castle with a commission from the Queen of Spain. Born in Wales, Clifford had moved to Madrid in 1850, where he worked as a photographer until his early death in 1863.[90] He came bearing a photograph of Isabella II (figure 284), who requested that Victoria pose for one in return (figure 285), which was also engraved (figure 286). While Victoria was on close personal terms with the Emperor and Empress of the French, in spite of their political difficulties, she was not close to Isabella II of Spain. She did, however, occasionally intervene in affairs when she believed it to be to Isabella's benefit, politically and personally, as well as her own. Victoria participated in the search for a potential husband

[90] For more information on Clifford, see the following: L. Fontanella (ed.), *Charles Clifford: fotografo de la España de Isabel II* (Madrid, 1996); L. Fontanella, *Charles Clifford: fotografo en la corte de Isabel II* (Madrid, 1999); and F. Crabiffosse Cuesta, *Clifford en España, 1849-1863* (Oviedo, 2000).

for the young queen, and carefully monitored the Emperor Napoléon's attempts to undermine Isabella's sovereignty.[91]

Victoria noted in her journal that she 'dressed in evening dress, with diadem & jewels', a clear departure from her previous photographic images.[92] It is unknown whether she did so under the instruction of Clifford, in response to the image of Isabella II, or because she believed it to be the fittest representation of her monarchy. This exchange of pictures between the two European queens regnant is of interest on a number of levels. First, the exchange between the sovereigns is the same exchange that went on between countless numbers of women at this time – one photograph for another - each given as a gift. However, these were clearly not average women, nor were they presented as such in the images. Additionally, these photographs were exchanged across geographical borders, illustrating the wide reach of photography, and of the carte-de-visite in particular. In this situation, the pictures served a diplomatic purpose, as well as a social one.[93]

While it is important to acknowledge the different situations in which each queen found herself, politically, culturally, and socially, these two images provide a fruitful comparison. Furthermore, while it has been acknowledged that Clifford's photograph of Victoria was taken in response to, and to be exchanged for, that of Isabella II, they have not been compared previously. Neither Isabella nor Victoria was known for her beauty, and each had a reputation for being over-fond of dress without achieving elegance. In her photograph, Isabella wears a pale gown overwhelmed by dark trim, tassels, lace, and ruffles, and which is topped off by numerous pieces of jewellery and an impressive crown. She stands on an ornate carpet, with a curtain hanging behind her right side, and an open view behind her, one that is most likely a backdrop hung for this purpose. Isabella rests her right arm on her waist, to keep it from moving during the exposure, and her left hand is placed on the

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[91] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 16 December 1841 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 26 October 1860 (Princess Beatrice's copies); RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 19 July 1861 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Each retrieved 25 November 2014.

[92] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 14 November 1861 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 25 November 2014.

[93] For a further discussion of the relationship between Victoria and Isabella II, see chapter four (160-163).

back of a chair, allowing her to hold steady. While the quality of the carpet and the chair, as well as her ornate gown and jewels, belie her monarchical status, the pose is a standard one, and the medium places her on a relatively even footing with her middle-class subjects.

Of the two women, Victoria is the more restrained visually. She wears a dark gown, the pattern of which suggests that it is made of moiré taffeta. The sleeves are edged with a distracting, pale fringe, and over her ensemble she wears the riband of the Order of the Garter, with the lesser George attached. She wears at least one bracelet, which is possibly the miniature of Albert that she often wore in paintings, and a necklace and earrings that may be the coronation diamonds. Victoria also wears the Regal Circlet, which was an unmistakable sign of her sovereignty. Garrard's reworked both the circlet and necklace after the Queen was forced to relinquish Queen Charlotte's diamonds to her uncle, the King of Hanover,[94] while the diamonds in the earrings had been taken from the setting of the Koh-i-noor.

Victoria stands straight, with her arms clasped in front of her waist. The ubiquitous curtain hangs behind her, and she stands in front of a blank wall. Victoria is shown nearly in profile, facing to the right of the image. Her gaze has an air of dignity and determination, befitting her role as queen regnant. Isabella, on the other hand, is turned more toward the viewer, and leans on the balustrade for support. Out of the various images of Queen Victoria that have been discussed in this chapter, this is by far the most regal, both in how she is dressed, and how she holds herself. This is also the only *carte-de-visite* that, as far as is known, was commissioned directly by another monarch specifically as a gift.

The approximately fifteen years between the first photograph taken of Victoria and the publication of the Royal Album allowed the Queen and her photographers time to experiment with setting, pose, costume, and attitude before settling on the manner most suitable for presentation to the public. As these earlier images were strictly private, Victoria could adopt a variety of guises without the concern of public exposure. The forthrightness seen in some of these early photographs, the spontaneity of others, and the busy aesthetic of

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[94] Cecil Woodham Smith, *Queen Victoria: her life and times 1819-1861* (London, 1972), 386-388.

many of them, is not found in her published pictures. The plain background and minimal accoutrements of Mayall's album centres the viewer's focus on the members of the royal family, while the ubiquitous raised platform effectively acts as a barrier between the sitters and their audience. While some of Victoria's later published photographs were less austere, comparison with those of her continental counterparts, her ladies, and women of the middle classes suggests that they were still relatively simple and restrained. This was especially important given the need for the viewer to be able to recognise the Queen in spite of the small size of the *cartes-de-visite*.

Although her photographic image was shaped by the parameters of the medium, there was sufficient room for experimentation, as is evidenced by the variety of poses and the numerous changes of costume and props. The shifting power dynamics in her photographs with Albert are especially interesting in light of the opportunity the speed and affordability of photography allowed Victoria and Albert to try a variety of poses and then select which would be published. While preparatory sketches were made and discussed as part of the process of producing official portraits in oil painting and sculpture, the glimpses were incomplete, and fewer in number.

The photographs of the Queen presented a woman sympathetic with the values of the middle class, and of a sovereign whose priority was her family, of which her subjects were an extension. The perceived veracity of the camera, in spite of the planned and mediated nature of the images, heightened the value of these pictures of Victoria in the eyes of many of her subjects, while the low prices made them widely accessible, making this one of the most powerful forms of the Queen's portraiture.

Conclusion

On the occasion of a royal visit in 1858, an article in the *Leeds Mercury* exclaimed that Queen Victoria was 'a woman, gentle but not feeble, mild though of dauntless courage, combining all feminine grace with all royal dignity, and possessing talents which command the respect of our first statesmen and of the ablest monarchs of Europe'.[1] It was this combination of 'feminine grace' and 'royal dignity' that was a hallmark of Victoria's image in the years between her accession in 1837 and her widowhood in 1861.

Although Victoria was more heavily involved in politics than most of her contemporaries were aware, her prevailing image was that of a constitutional monarch who had risen above party divisions and stood as the moral figurehead for her people, providing a model of exemplary living and, specifically, of praiseworthy womanhood. The feminine ideals that unfolded at a new level of intensity in the early nineteenth century, which emphasized woman's submissiveness and unselfishness, were well incorporated into British culture. Voiced at their height by Coventry Patmore in his poem *The Angel in the House* (1854), the characteristics of the 'true woman' were extolled (and contested) in publications aimed at female readers, such as the *Court Album*, *Heath's Book of Beauty*, and *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. These ideals are also detectable in Lord Russell, John Wade, and Victor Hugo's comments on Queen Anne, which denounced her performance as sovereign, but praised her domestic traits.

Previously, the majority of scholarly attention has positioned Victoria within the 'vertical' context of her royal predecessors, or examined her images in a vacuum. While the historical comparisons have been richly rewarding, especially in light of the changing role of the Crown, they have provided only part of the story. Building on the model initiated by Zoffany's collaboration with George III, the informality introduced in the eighteenth century became an integral part of Victoria's portraiture. The works commissioned and authorized

[1] 7 September 1858, *The Leeds Mercury*, 'The Queen in Leeds', 2.

by the Queen ranged from those that depicted her according to the traditions of state portraiture with all of its attendant grandeur to the softer and significantly less royal pictures that portrayed her in relatively restrained evening wear with references to her status as the 'rosebud of England', and from the militaristic equestrian portraits usually associated with masculinity, to intimate portraits of Victoria cradling her infant son. This exploration of her domesticity and femininity requires an adjustment in the approach to her representation to more fully grasp the layers of meaning in her images.

By suggesting a new way of interpreting Victoria's portraits, this thesis has widened the discussion beyond focusing on a solitary work or solely on comparisons to portraits of past British monarchs, and has used juxtapositions with her female contemporaries and Continental counterparts. Additionally, the examination of a variety of media allows for a broader view of the Queen's portraits, and facilitates a more complete understanding of the ways in which the Queen and her artists interpreted her femininity and sovereign power. This approach sheds greater light on the range of images that the Queen commissioned and authorized by placing them in the context in which they were created and viewed. The use of 'horizontal' comparison when examining Queen Victoria's portraits yields a deeper and richer understanding of how her multiple identities - specifically those of queen and of woman – were wrought visually.

The ideals of mid-nineteenth century femininity propagated by the domestic ideology influenced the artists and sitters discussed in this thesis, as well as the patrons who commissioned works of art, and the people who viewed them, either in their original form, as copies and replicas, or other derivatives such as engravings. Its effect was particularly evident in the many images of Victoria with her husband and children, more of which had been commissioned by the Queen than by any of her predecessors. This emphasis on the Queen's domestic role was visible in full force in images such as Winterhalter's painting of the Queen and infant Prince Arthur on the terrace of Osborne (1850), and Mayall's photograph of Victoria with Princess Beatrice (1860), and was even present in the more formal images such as Winterhalter's *Royal family in 1846* (1846).

In some cases, more conventional monarchical portraits of Victoria were adapted into relatively relaxed images that showed her dressed and posed similarly to her aristocratic and wealthy female subjects. Grant's reworking of the United Service Club portrait into a family picture, showing the Queen with her two eldest children, and Winterhalter's 1843 painting of Victoria dressed in her garter robes transformed into the 1844-45 portrait of the Queen in eveningwear, attest to the malleability of her image. Furthermore, some elements in her portraits were echoed in those of her female contemporaries, extending even to direct visual 'quotations' of dress or composition, as in the case of Grant's equestrian portrait of the Queen for the Army and Navy Club and his portrayal of Louisa Shirley, illustrating the ease with which aspects of Victoria's image were co-opted by non-royal women.

However, the theme of femininity that carried through her portraits was complicated by the inaccessibility and sovereignty highlighted in Victoria's representations. The repeated motif of space around the figure of the queen, her placement on an elevated platform above the viewer, and her often aloof or challenging gaze, elements that were rarely present in the representations of her ladies, and were often combined in depictions of the Queen, maintained the disparity between them. The combination of her gender role and sovereignty in her image aided in her embodiment of the feminized version of the King's two bodies of which Deborah Cherry spoke, allowing Victoria to be at once the undisputed queen, and the ideal of mid-nineteenth century womanhood.

This is not to say that Victoria's image was the result of a 'carefully worked-out iconographic plan', as Oliver Millar has suggested.[2] Firstly, the existence of such a program would imply that there is an answer to the question of the Queen's agency. While many have grappled with this issue, Victoria's journals and letters, as well as those of the artists she employed, suggest that this question can only be addressed on a case-by-case basis, and even then must often go unanswered. Furthermore, these sources and the finished works of art indicate that her image was the outcome of continual experimentation on the part of her artists, with varying levels of input from the Queen and her ministers. The portrait bust sculpted by Matthew Noble, which

[2] Oliver Millar, *The Victorian pictures in the collection of her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1992), xxxviii.

he produced in three different sizes, and with each descent in scale changed her headgear, thus calling on different aspects of her persona, is an evocative example of this.

The challenge of portraying the youngest sovereign in generations, and the first female monarch in over two centuries, proved a puzzling one for artists, especially given the changed role of the monarchy and of women during this period. Artistic exploration of queenship in general, which reached unprecedented heights at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Arts during her reign, testifies to this conundrum. A general condemnation of queens embracing traditionally masculine qualities, and the celebration of feminine accomplishments, high moral character, and domestic devotion, was seen in the paintings displayed at the 1853 Academy exhibition. The interspersing of portraits of Victoria among other depictions of royal women on display created a 'conversation' on female power and domesticity, and Victoria's performance of her sovereign role, that involved those who attended the exhibition, the critics who wrote about it, and those who read these reports and saw the engravings of the works discussed.

The technological advances of the period in both the replication and dissemination of images enabled the vast majority of her subjects to obtain a personal visual knowledge of their monarch, and in a way to participate in the pictorial enactment of her layered roles. The display of the original works at the Royal Academy and on national tours, as well as in their final destinations, was augmented by the appearance of prints in periodicals and in shop windows, as well as the homes of many of the Queen's subjects. Victoria's image saturated the nation in a manner wholly unprecedented, influencing the cultural ideals of womanhood and nineteenth-century sovereignty, at the same time that it was, in turn, shaped by them.

The social and political forces that moulded the first half of Queen Victoria's rein had an indelible impact on her pictorial representation, elevating the feminine and domestic aspects of Victoria's persona to levels formerly reserved for sovereign status. While many of the explorations of the Queen's portraits that have preceded this thesis have shed light on the monarchical legacy, or have unpacked individual pictures, this thesis is the first to fully delve into the context in which her representations were created. The use of

horizontal comparisons has shown how deeply Victoria's portraits were shaped by the conventions of female portraiture, allowing the Queen to align herself with the middle classes while at the same time maintaining enough of a distance to keep her sovereignty foremost. This aided in winning the hearts of her people, and in the solidification of her throne during times of trouble for many royal houses, developing tactics that are still being used by the royal family today.

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Appendix: images

Fig. 1: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at the Bal Costumé of 12 My 1842* (1842-1846), oil on canvas, 143.0 x 111.6 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 2: 'The exhibition at the Royal Academy.' *Illustrated London News* (London, England) 20 May 1843: n.p. *Illustrated London News*. Accessed online 22 June 2013.

Fig. 3: No. 171. John Callcott Horsley, *Lady Jane Grey and Roger Ascham* (1853), oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm; private collection.

Fig. 4: Lumb Stocks after John Callcott Horsley, *Lady Jane Grey and Roger Ascham* (1867), engraving, 33.4 x 25.0 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 5: Henry Brian Ziegler, *The Queen and Prince planting trees at Burghley House* (1844), watercolour, 31.0 x 46.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 6: No. 415, David Roberts, *The Inauguration by Queen Victoria of the Exhibition of all Nations* (1852), oil on canvas, 86.4 x 152.4 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 7: No. 320, Alfred Elmore, *Queen Blanche ordering her son, Louis IX, from the presence of his wife* (1853), oil on canvas, 81.28 x 101.6 cm; private collection.

Fig. 8: No. 362, James Clarke Hook, *Queen Isabella of Castile, with her daughters, visited many of the nunneries, taking her needle with her and endeavouring by her conversation and example to withdraw the inmates from the low and frivolous pleasures to which they were addicted* (c. 1853), oil on canvas, 71.12 x 91.44 cm; private collection.

Fig. 9: No. 512, Edward Matthew Ward, *Joséphine signing the act of her divorce* (1853), oil on canvas, 133.6 x 167.6 cm; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

Fig. 10: Edward Matthew Ward, *The royal family of France in the prison of the Temple – Louis XVI, Queen Marie Antoinette, the Dauphin, Dauphiness, and Madame Elizabeth, the King's sister* (1851), oil on canvas, 103.2 x 128.0 cm; Harris Museum & Art Gallery.

Fig. 11: No. 559, Henry Nelson O'Neil, *Catherine's Dream* (1853), oil on board, 28.5 x 38.0 cm; private collection.

Fig. 12: Henry Nelson O'Neil, *The trial of Queen Catherine of Aragon* (1846-1848), oil on canvas, 43.4 x 65.2 cm; Birmingham Museums Trust.

Fig. 13: Sébastien Bourdon, *Queen Christina of Sweden* (1652-1654), oil on canvas, 102.0 x 84.0 cm; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Beziers.

Fig. 14: Sébastien Bourdon, *Christina of Sweden on horseback* (1653-1654), oil on canvas, 340.5 x 303.0 cm.; Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 15: Pierre Alexandre Tardieu and Ignatius Joseph van den Berghe after Sébastien Bourdon, *Christine, reine de Suède* (1786-1808), engraving on paper, 36.6 x 26.0 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 16: Charles Robert Leslie, *Jeanie Deans and Queen Caroline* (1859), oil on canvas, 100.0 x 84.0 cm; English Heritage, Marble Hill House.

Fig. 17: Mary Thornycroft, *Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales* (undated), bronze, 54.0 cm high; private collection.

Fig. 18: The Prince's Chamber, Palace of Westminster.

Fig. 19: No. 1338, William Theed, *Mary Queen of Scots, looking back on the coast of France* (1853), bronze, 76.2 x 76.2 cm; Houses of Parliament.

Fig. 20: No. 1340, William Theed, *Sir Walter Raleigh spreading his cloak as a carpet for Queen Elizabeth* (c. 1853), bronze, 76.2 x 76.2 cm; Houses of Parliament.

Fig. 21: Johan Zoffany, *George III* (1771), oil on canvas, 163.2 x 137.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 22: Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria* (1839), oil on canvas, 40.6 x 30.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 23: Franz Hanfstängl after Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria* (1840), lithograph on paper, 33.7 x 35.6 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 24: Edwin Landseer, *the Duchess of Argyll* (early 1840s), oil on canvas, 68.5 x 57.8 cm; the collection of the Duke of Argyll, Inverary.

Fig. 25: Edwin Landseer, *the Duchess of Argyll* (early 1840s), chalk and wash, 58.4 x 50.8 cm; the collection of the Duke of Argyll, Inverary.

Fig. 26: W. H. Egleton after A. E. Chalon, *The Lady Fanny Cowper* (1839), stipple etching, 25.4 x 17.2 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 27: Edwin Landseer, *Viscountess Jocelyn* (1842), oil on canvas, 43.0 x 30.5 cm; the collection of the Marquess of Lothian, Melbourne Hall.

Fig. 28: Sir Francis Grant, *Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (1843), oil on canvas, 246.38 x 165.10 cm; the United Service Club.

Fig. 29: Queen Victoria's wedding gown (c. 1840); the lace flounce has been removed from the skirt for conservation purposes. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 30: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Queen Charlotte* (1779), oil on canvas, 278.2 x 185.7 cm; Royal Academy of Arts.

Fig. 31: Sir George Hayter, *The Marriage of Queen Victoria, 10 February 1840* (detail) (1842), oil on canvas, 195.8 x 273.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 32: Sir George Hayter, *Queen Victoria* (1840), oil on canvas, 270.7 x 185.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 33: Godfrey Kneller, *Queen Anne* (1705), oil on canvas, 234.0 x 203.0 cm; English Heritage, Wrest Park.

Fig. 34: John Michael Wright, Charles II (1661-2), oil on canvas, 281.9 x 239.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015

Fig. 35: Sir Francis Grant, *the Duchess of Atholl* (1839), oil on canvas, 101.6 x 127.0 cm; the collection of William George Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray, 22nd of Abercairny.

Fig. 36: After Sir Francis Grant, *the Duchess of Atholl* (c. 1839), engraving, size unavailable; collection of the Duke of Atholl, Blair Atholl.

Fig. 37: Sir Francis Grant, *The Marchioness of Waterford* (1842), oil on canvas, 203.2 x 129.54 cm; the collection of the Marquis of Waterford, Curraghmore House.

Fig. 38: Sir Francis Grant, *Lady Dalmeny* (1845), oil on canvas, 127.0 x 102.0 cm; the collection of the Earl of Rosebery.

Fig. 39: Samuel William Reynolds Jr, after Sir Francis Grant, *Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Powlett (née Stanhope), Duchess of Cleveland, when Lady Dalmeny* (published 1850), mezzotint, 45.0 x 32.5 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 40: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Her Majesty the Queen* (1842), oil on canvas, 133.4 x 97.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 41: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Prince Albert* (1842), oil on canvas, 132.7 x 97.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 42: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Victoria Ière, reine de Grande Bretagne* (1842), oil on canvas, 133.5 x 98.0 cm; Musée National du Château de Versailles.

Fig. 43: François Forster after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (published 1 May 1847), line engraving, 57.9 x 43.5 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 44: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Alexandrine, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1820-1904)* (1842), oil on canvas, 125.4 x 103.1 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 45: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1843), oil on canvas, 64.8 x 53.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 46: Francis Holl after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Victoria R* (published 26 August 1843), engraving, 31.2 x 26.1 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 47: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *H.M. Queen Victoria, in Garter Robes* (1843), oil on canvas, 273.1 x 161.6 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 48: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Prince Albert* (1843), oil on canvas, 273.8 x 160.9 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 49: Sir David Wilkie, *Queen Victoria* (1840), oil on canvas, 271.5 x 190.5 cm; Lady Lever Art Gallery.

Fig. 50: Henry S. Sadd after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (c. 1837-1893), aquatint, 22.9 x 17.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 51: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1844-1845), oil on canvas, 218.2 x 124.4 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 52: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Prince Albert, Prince Consort* (1844-1845), oil on canvas, 226.3 x 139.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 53: William Hopwood after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Chateau d'Eu Victoria I* (circa 1845), stipple and etching on paper, 42.7 x 33.2 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 54: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1845), oil on canvas, 91.8 x 65.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 55: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (c. October 1846), watercolour, 30.0 x 23.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 56: Thomas Fairland after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1847), lithograph, 39.2 x 30.9 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 57: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Augusta of Saxe-Weimar, Princess of Prussia, later Queen of Prussia and German Empress (1811-90)* (1846), oil on canvas, 46.3 x 36.6 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

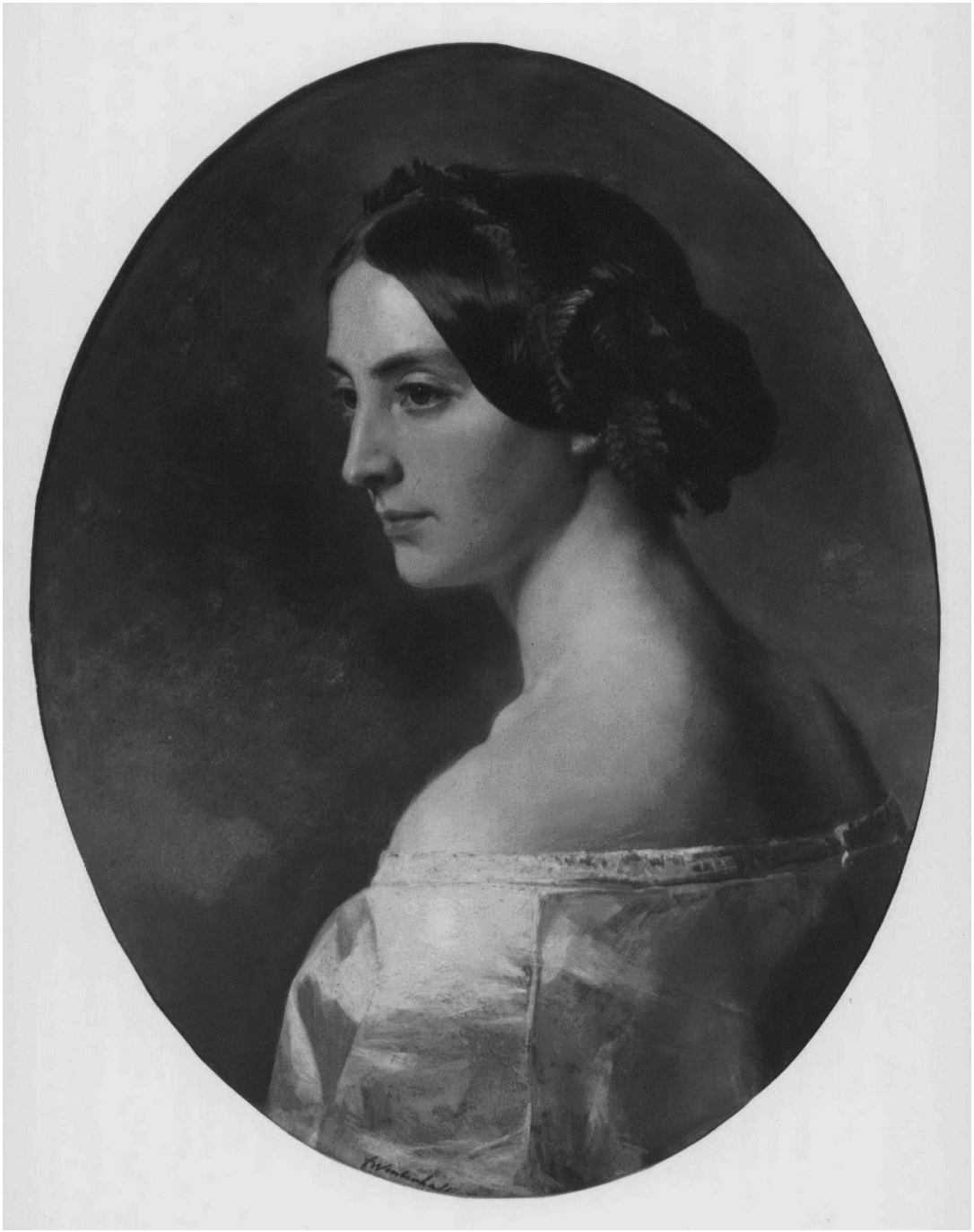


Fig. 58: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Elizabeth, Marchioness of Douro (1820-1904)*, (1848), oil on canvas, 63.5 x 49.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 59: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Charlotte Stuart, Viscountess Canning* (1849), oil on canvas, 61.3 x 48.9 cm; the collection of the Earl of Harewood.

Fig. 60: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Frances, Viscountess Jocelyn* (1849), oil on canvas, 63.1 x 49.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 61: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1847), oil on canvas, 53.4 x 43.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

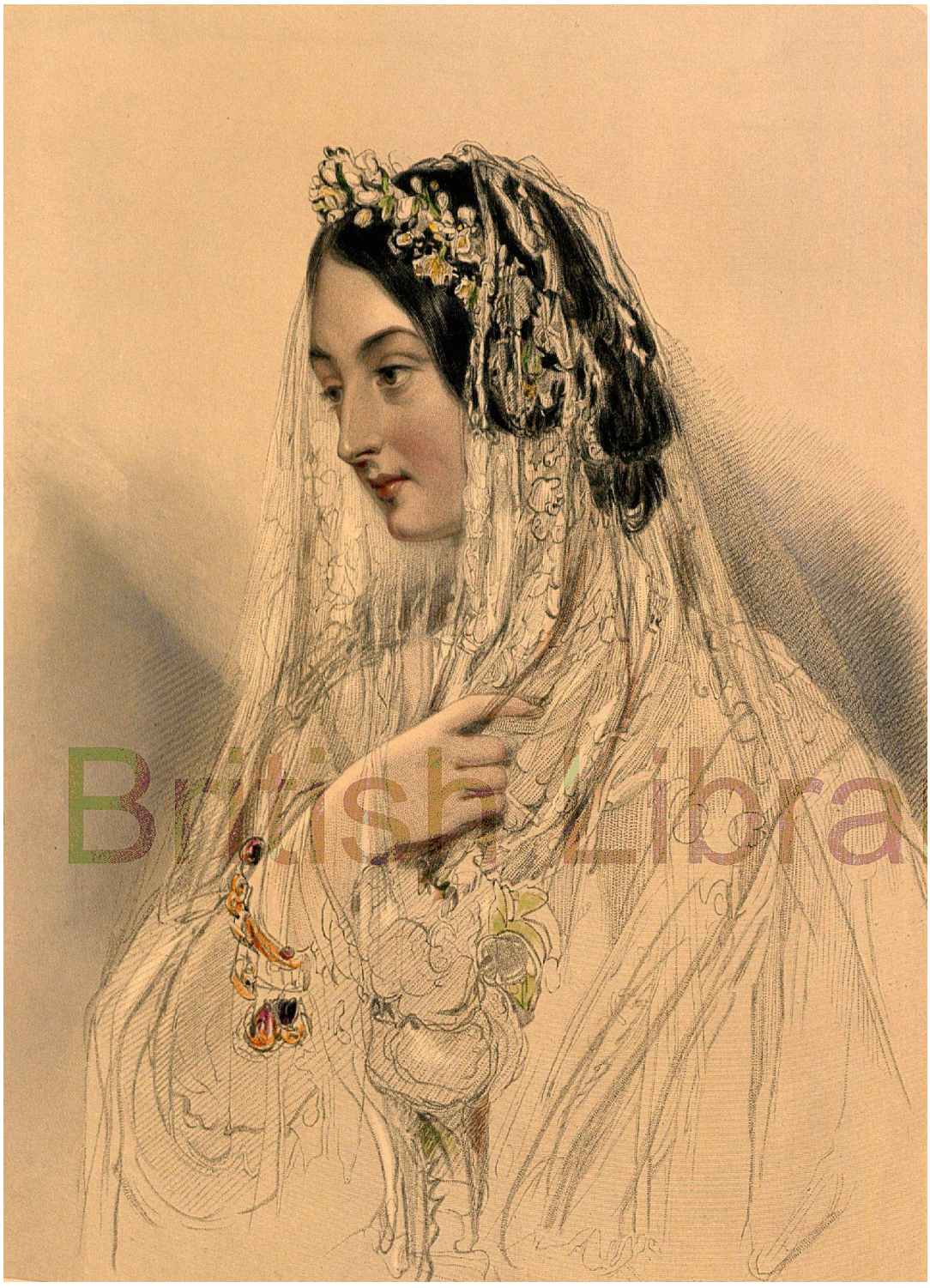


Fig. 62: William Henry Mote after John Hayter, *Lady St. John Mildmay* (1852), hand-coloured engraving, dimensions unavailable; the British Library.

Fig. 63: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1856), oil on canvas, 88.8 x 73.1 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 64: Charles Risdon after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (c. 1852-1855), chromolithograph, 59.0 x 46.4 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 65: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1855), watercolour, 38.3 x 26.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 66: Richard James Lane after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Her Majesty the Queen 1855* (1855), lithograph on paper, 35.5 x 26.5 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 67: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1859), oil on canvas, 241.9 x 157.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 68: Alfred Edward Chalon after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria* (1859-60), mixed method engraving, 77.7 x 52.8 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 69: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Prince Albert, the Prince Consort* (1859), oil on canvas, 241.9 x 158.1 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 70: Franz Xavier Winterhalter, *Isabella II of Spain with the Infanta Isabella* (1852), oil on canvas, dimensions unavailable; The Royal Palace of Madrid.

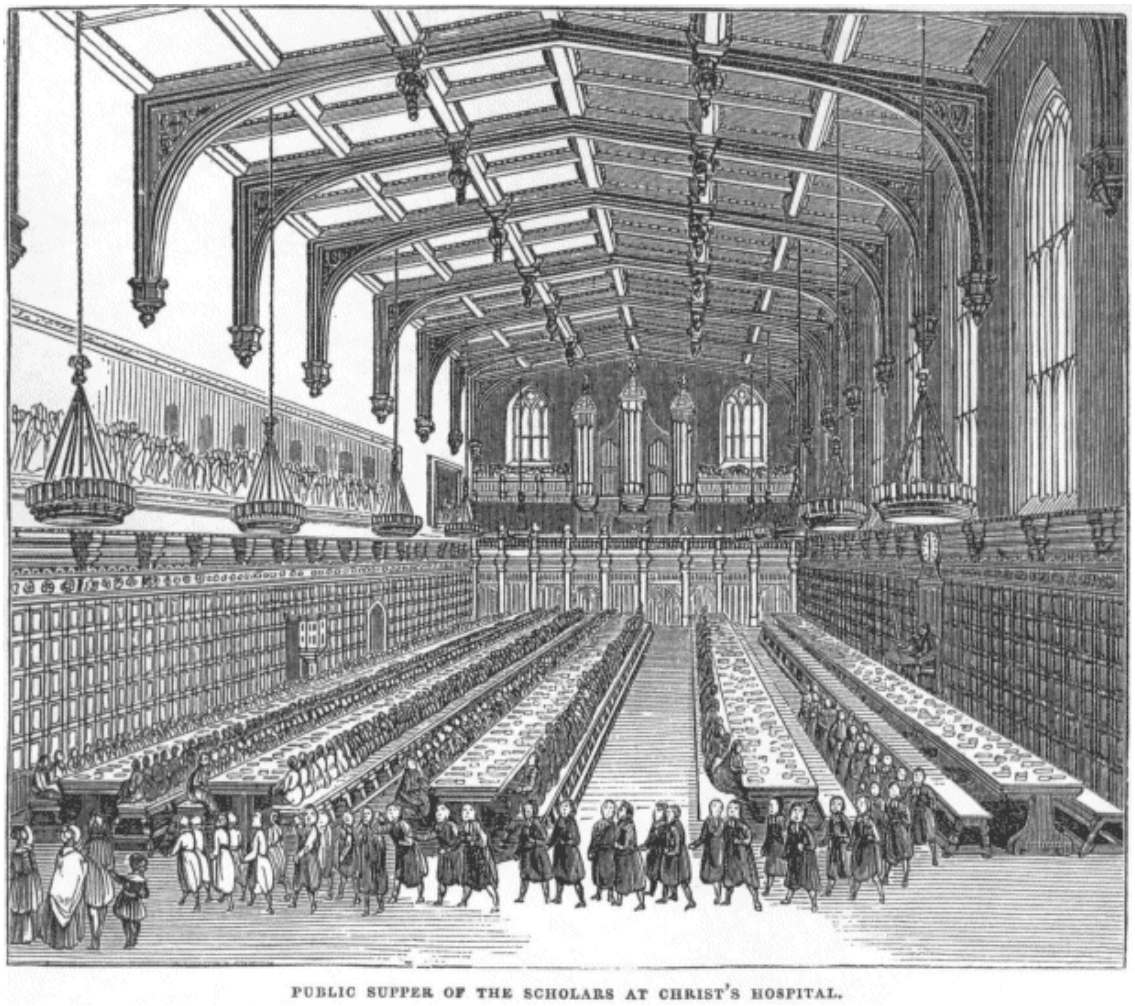
Fig. 71: Mary Curtis after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Eugénie, Empress of the French* (1857), oil on canvas, 242.0 x 159.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 72: Sir Francis Grant, *Queen Victoria riding out* (1840), oil on canvas, 99.1 x 137.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 73: *Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius* (161-180 AD), bronze, 424.0 cm high; Musei Capitolini.

Fig. 74: Anthony Van Dyck, *Charles I at the hunt* (c. 1635), oil on canvas, 266.0 x 207.0 cm; The Louvre.

Fig. 75: Albrecht Dürer, *Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513), copperplate engraving, 24.6 x 19.0 cm; The British Museum.



PUBLIC SUPPER OF THE SCHOLARS AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

Fig. 76: 'Public supper of the scholars at Christ's Hospital', *Illustrated London News*, 18 March 1843. Accessed online 7 September 2013.

Fig. 77: Sir Francis Grant, *Queen Victoria on horseback* (1845), oil on canvas, 274.3 x 218.4 cm; Christ's Hospital, Horsham.

Fig. 78: Diego Velazquez, *Philip IV* (1635-1636), oil on canvas, 301.0 cm x 314.0 cm; Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 79: Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, *Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares* (c. 1635), oil on canvas, 127.6 x 104.1 cm; Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 80: Anthony van Dyck, *Albert de Ligne, Prince of Arenberg and Barbançcon, on horseback* (1600-74), oil on canvas, 305.0 x 226.0 cm; The Earl of Leicester and the Trustees of the Holkham Estate, Norfolk.

Fig. 81: Richard Earlom, after Anthony Van Dyck, *Le duc d'Arenberg* (1783), mezzotint with etching, 63.3 x 45.6 cm; The British Museum.

Fig. 82: Sir Francis Grant, *Prince Albert* (1845), oil on canvas, 274.3 x 218.4 cm; Christ's Hospital, Horsham.

Fig. 83: Sir Francis Grant, *Prince Albert* (1845), oil on canvas, 45.4 x 35.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 84: Sir Francis Grant, *Queen Victoria on horseback* (1845), oil on canvas, 34.8 x 30.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 85: Queen Victoria's adapted Windsor uniform. Kay Staniland, *In royal fashion: the clothes of Princess Charlotte of Wales & Queen Victoria, 1796-1901* (London, 1997), 105.

Fig. 86: Erichsen Vigilius, *Equestrian portrait of Catherine II* (after 1762), oil on canvas, 195.0 x 178.3 cm; The State Heritage Museum.

Fig. 87: Louis August Brun de Versoix, *Marie-Antoinette on horseback* (1783), oil on canvas, 60.0 x 66.0 cm; Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

Fig. 88: Sir Francis Grant, *Equestrian portrait of her Majesty Queen Victoria* (1850), oil on canvas, dimensions unavailable; Army and Navy Club.

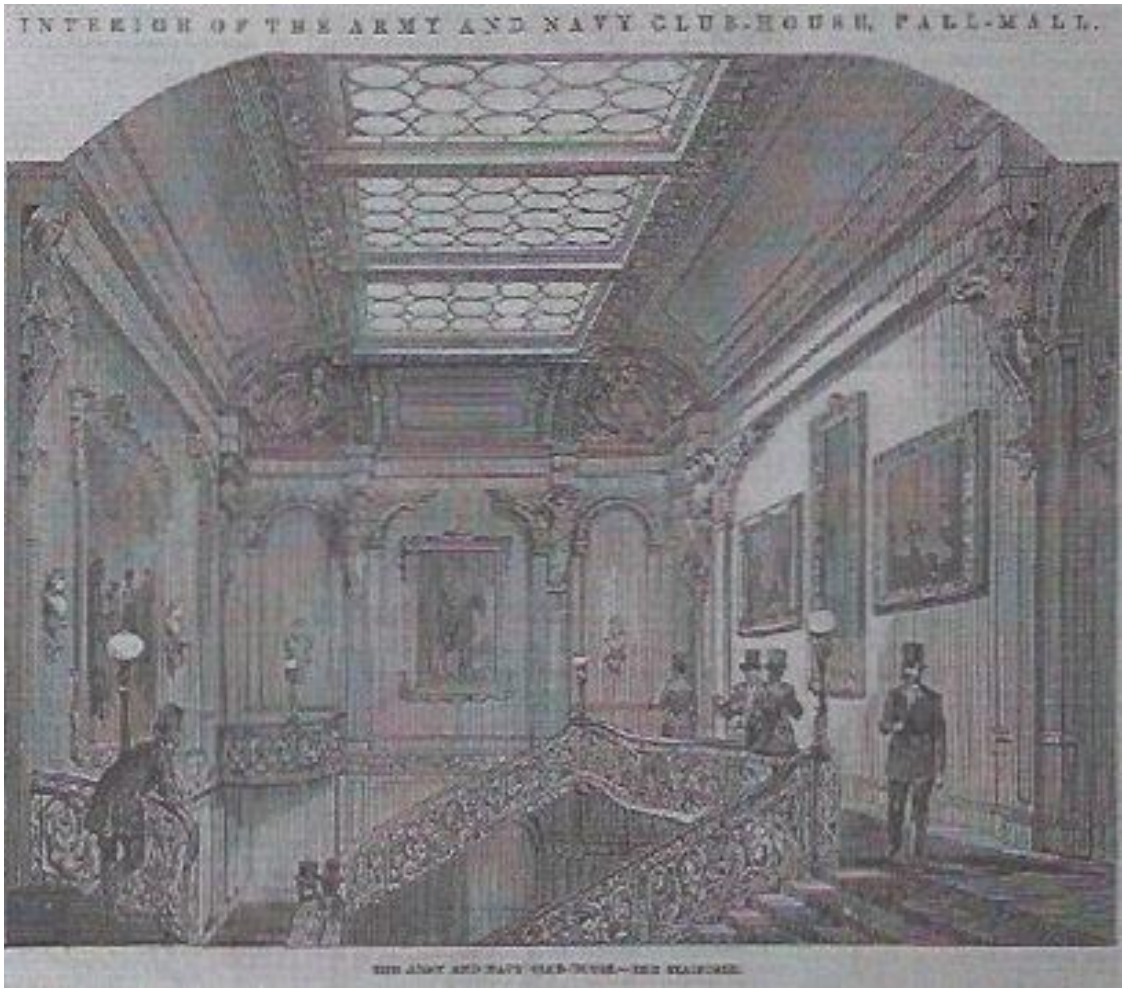


Fig. 89: *Illustrated London News*, 8 March 1851, Interior of the Army and Navy Club-House, Pall-Mall. Grant's portrait of Victoria on horseback is near the centre of the engraving.

Fig. 90: Sir Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I with M. de St Antoine* (1633), oil on canvas, 370.0 x 270.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 91: Sir Francis Grant, *Louisa Shirley, 2nd wife of Neill Malcolm, 13th of Poltalloch* (1845), oil on canvas, 190.5 x 160.02 cm; Stonefield Castle Hotel.

Fig. 92: Sir Francis Grant, *Henry Charles Fitzroy Somerset, 8th Duke of Beaufort with Georgiana, his wife* (1863), materials unavailable, 123.0 x 96.5 cm; Collection of the Duke of Beaufort.

Fig. 93: Sir Francis Grant, *Lady of the Manners family* (date unavailable), oil on canvas, 110.6 x 141.0 cm; private collection.

Fig. 94: Sir Francis Grant, *Hon. Georgiana Child-Villiers* (date unavailable), oil on canvas, 101.6 x 128.27 cm; The collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Fig. 95: Sir Francis Grant, *Mrs Roller* (date unavailable), oil on canvas, 142.6 x 172.2 cm; private collection

Fig. 96: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria on horseback* (1838-72), oil on canvas, 292.0 x 221.0 cm; the collection of Lord Fairhaven.

Fig. 97: Thomas Landseer after Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria on horseback in Windsor Park* (date unavailable), hand-coloured engraving, 89.0 x 66.0 cm; private collection.

Fig. 98: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria on horseback* (c. 1837-9), oil sketch on millboard, 52.2 x 43.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 99: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria and the Duke of Wellington reviewing the Life Guards, Windsor Great Park in the distance* (1839), oil on canvas, 54.5 x 89.0 cm; private collection.

Fig. 100: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria on a highland pony* (date unavailable), oil on board, 22.0 x 20.0 cm; The Ashmolean Museum.

Fig. 101: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria in Windsor Home Park* (1865), oil on canvas, 89.5 x 72.5 cm; Wolverhampton Arts and Heritage collection.

Fig. 102: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria reviewing the Royal Horse Guards* (date unavailable), watercolour and gouache, 26.1 x 22.0 cm; private collection.

Fig. 103: Alfred, Count d'Orsay, *Queen Victoria on horseback* (c. 1846), oil on canvas, 267.0 x 228.5 cm; UK Government Art Collection.

Fig. 104: Charles Édouard Boutibonne, *Queen Victoria* (1856), oil on canvas, 110.9 x 92.6 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 105: Charles Édouard Boutibonne, *Prince Albert* (1856), oil on canvas, 111.1 x 92.5; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 106: Charles Édouard Boutibonne, *Napoléon III, Emperor of the French* (1856), oil on canvas, 109.8 x 89.6 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 107: Charles Édouard Boutibonne, *Eugénie, Empress of the French* (before July 1856), oil on canvas, 110.3 x 89.8; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 108: François Ferdinand d'Orléans Joinville, *Portrait de Mlle Eugénie Montijo* (1852), watercolour, size unavailable; private collection.

Fig. 109: Field Marshall uniforms of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, with detail views of Queen Victoria's jackets; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015. Kay Staniland, *In royal fashion: the clothes of Princess Charlotte of Wales & Queen Victoria, 1796-1901* (London, 1997), 151.

Fig. 110: George Housman Thomas, *Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort at Aldershot* (1859-1864), oil on canvas, 86.3 x 127.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 111: George Housman Thomas, *The Queen and the Prince Consort at Aldershot* (date unavailable), watercolour heightened with white, 32.7 x 46.99 cm; private collection.

Fig. 112: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Windsor Castle in modern times; Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and Victoria, Princess Royal* (1840-1843), oil on canvas, 113.4 x 144.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 113: Thomas Lewis Atkinson, after Sir Edwin Landseer, *Windsor Castle in modern times* (1851), mixed media, 68.0 x 79.8 cm; The British Museum.

Fig. 114: Gerard ter Borch, *The letter* (c. 1660-65), oil on canvas, 81.9 x 68.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 115: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert: study for "Windsor Castle in modern times"* (c. June 1841), oil on canvas, 91.8 x 71.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 116: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria with the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales* (before 24 May 1842), oil on canvas, 61.3 x 50.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 117: Magdalena Dalton, *Brooch with a miniature of Prince Albert, formerly set as a bracelet* (1840), gold, glass, diamonds, watercolour on ivory, 3.1 x 2.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 118: Sir William Beechey, *Victoria, Duchess of Kent, with Princess Victoria* (1821), oil on canvas, 144.4 x 113.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 119: William Skelton, after Sir William Beechey, *Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent and Her Highness the Princess Victoria* (1823), line engraving, 43.6 x 33.2 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 120: Francis Cotes, *Queen Charlotte with Charlotte, Princess Royal* (1767), pastel, 93.0 x 78.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 121: Annibale Carracci, *The Madonna and sleeping child with the infant St John the Baptist ('Il silenzio')* (c. 1599-1600), oil on canvas, 51.2 x 68.4 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 122: Robert Thorburn, *Queen Victoria with Prince Alfred and Princess Helena* (1847), watercolour on ivory laid on parchment affixed to board, 45.2 x 33.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 123: Robert Thorburn, *Charlotte Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, and her daughter, Lady Victoria Scott* (1847), watercolour on ivory laid on card, 21.0 x 17.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 124: Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria, Princess Royal, and Prince of Wales* (c. 1842), black and white chalk, 56.5 x 42.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 125: Samuel Cousins, after Sir Edwin Landseer, *Queen Victoria with the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales* (1844), engraving on paper, 90.0 x 69.0 cm; National Trust Collections, Blickling Hall.

Fig. 126: Sir Francis Grant, *Queen Victoria with Victoria, Princess Royal, and Albert Edward, Prince of Wales* (1842), oil on canvas, 44.7 x 30.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 127: Allan Ramsay, *Queen Charlotte with her two eldest sons* (c. 1764-9), oil on canvas, 247.8 x 165.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 128: Allan Ramsay, *George III* (c. 1761-2), oil on canvas, 249.5 x 163.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 129: Sir Francis Grant, *Portrait of Mrs. James Beech, Alice Mary Beech and Rowland John Beech* (c. 1853), oil on canvas, 142.4 x 111.7 cm; private collection.

Fig. 130: Sir Francis Grant, *Charlotte-Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch with two of her sons, the Earl of Dalkeith, afterwards Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Henry Scott, afterwards Lord Montagu of Beaulieu* (1838), oil on canvas, 187.96 x 162.56 cm; Bowhill House collection. By kind permission of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensbury KBE.

Fig. 131: Sir Francis Grant, *Mary, Baroness Leconfield with her sons Henry, 2nd Baron Beaconsfield, and Percy Scawen Wyndham* (1841), oil on canvas, 124.46 x 157.48 cm; private collection.

Fig. 132: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *The royal family in 1846* (1846), oil on canvas, 250.5 x 317.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 133: Queen Victoria after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Royal family in 1846* (1846), materials and dimensions unavailable; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 134: Alphonse Léon Noël, after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *The royal family* (1850s), lithograph coloured by hand, 64.3 x 82.2 cm; The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 135: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Countess Elzbieta Krasinska with her children* (1853), oil on canvas, 131.0 x 163.5 cm; The National Museum, Warsaw.

Fig. 136: Johan Zoffany, *George III, Queen Charlotte and their six eldest children* (1770), oil on canvas, 104.9 x 127.4 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 137: British School, 16th century, *The family of Henry VIII* (c. 1545), oil on canvas, 144.5 x 355.9 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 138: Sir Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary* (1632), oil on canvas, 303.8 x 256.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 139: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *The reception of Louis-Philippe, King of the French, at Windsor Castle, 8 October 1844* (1847), oil on canvas, 97.0 x 188.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 140: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria with her four eldest children* (1845), oil on canvas, 68.5 x 69.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 141: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria with the Prince of Wales* (1846), oil on canvas, 236.1 x 145.9 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 142: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Prince Albert* (1846), oil on canvas, 237.5 x 147.5 cm; Lady Lever Art Gallery.

Fig. 143: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Françoise, Princesse de Joinville* (1846-7), oil on canvas, 215.0 x 140.0; Musée National du Château de Versailles.

Fig. 144: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Marie-Caroline, Duchesse d'Aumale* (1846), oil on canvas, 215.0 x 142.0 cm; Musée National du Château de Versailles.

Fig. 145: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Claire-Emilie, Vicomtesse Aguado, Marquise de Las Marismas el Guadalquivir, née Miss MacDonell* (1852), oil on canvas, 112.0 x 85.0 cm; Musée National du Château de Versailles.

Fig. 146: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Madame Adelina Patti* (1863), oil on canvas, 110.0 x 77.9 cm; private collection.

Fig. 147: Charles Jervas, *Queen Caroline with her son Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland* (c. 1728), oil on canvas, 233.7 x 166.4 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 148: Sir Anthony van Dyck, *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson* (1633), oil on canvas, 219.1 x 134.8 cm; The National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Fig. 149: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Eugénie, Empress of the French with her son, Louis-Napoléon, Prince Impérial* (1857), oil on canvas, 243.0 x 158.0 cm; Musée Nationaux de France, on deposit with Prince Napoleon at Château de Pranginse.

Fig. 150: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria with Prince Arthur* (1850), oil on canvas, 59.5 x 75.1 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 151: Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *The first of May 1851* (1851), oil on canvas, 107.0 x 129.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 152: Samuel Cousins after Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *The first of May, 1851* (date unavailable), mezzotint, 54.6 x 58.4 cm; private collection.

Fig. 153: Sir David Wilkie, *The first council of Queen Victoria* (1838), oil on canvas, 152.7 x 239.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 154: Black silk gown (discoloured), worn by Queen Victoria (c. 1837); Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

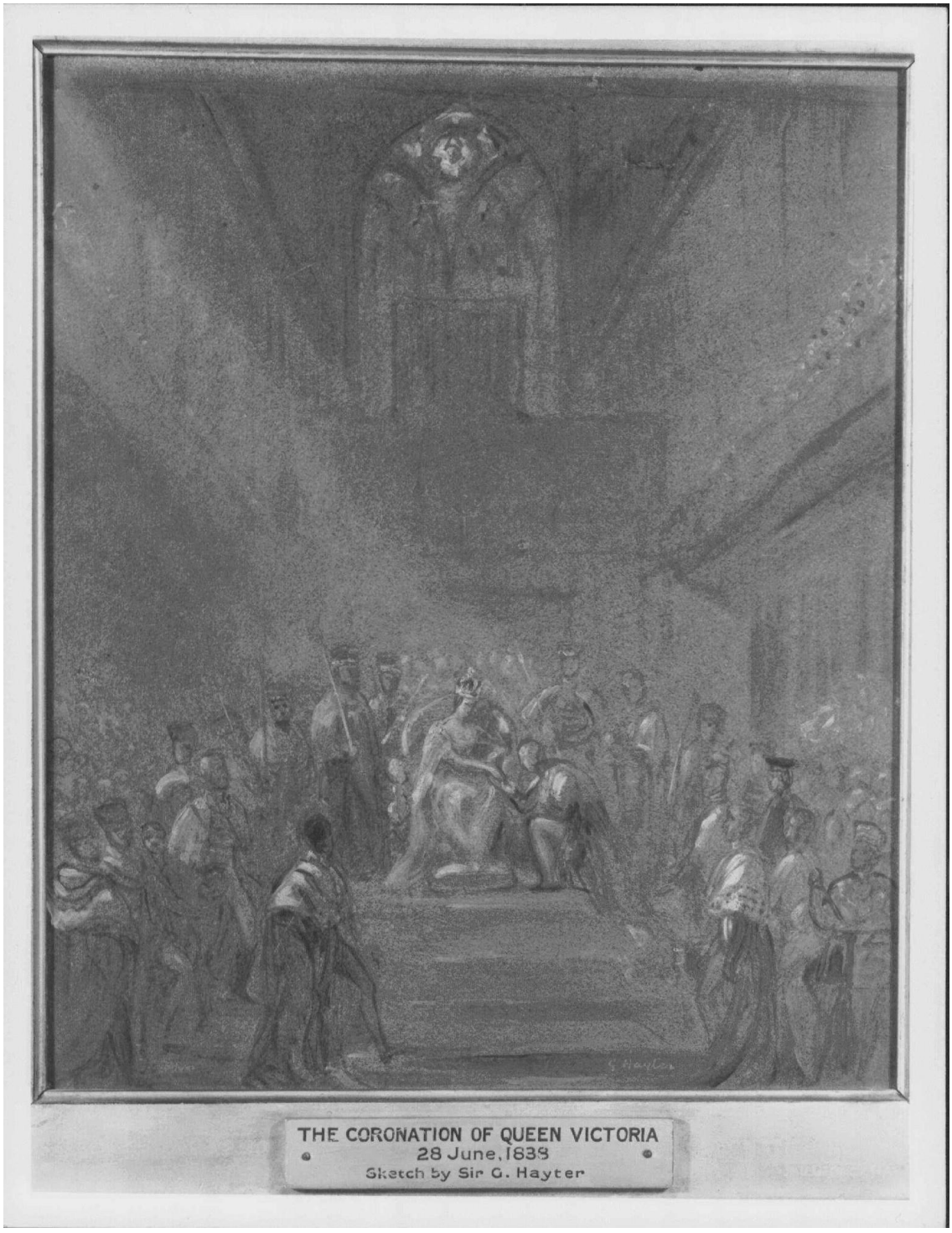


Fig. 155: Sir George Hayter, *The homage at the Coronation of Queen Victoria (oil sketch)* (1838), oil on canvas board, 30.1 x 25.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 156: Sir George Hayter, *The coronation of Queen Victoria, 28 June 1838* (1838), oil on canvas board, 23.1 x 29.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

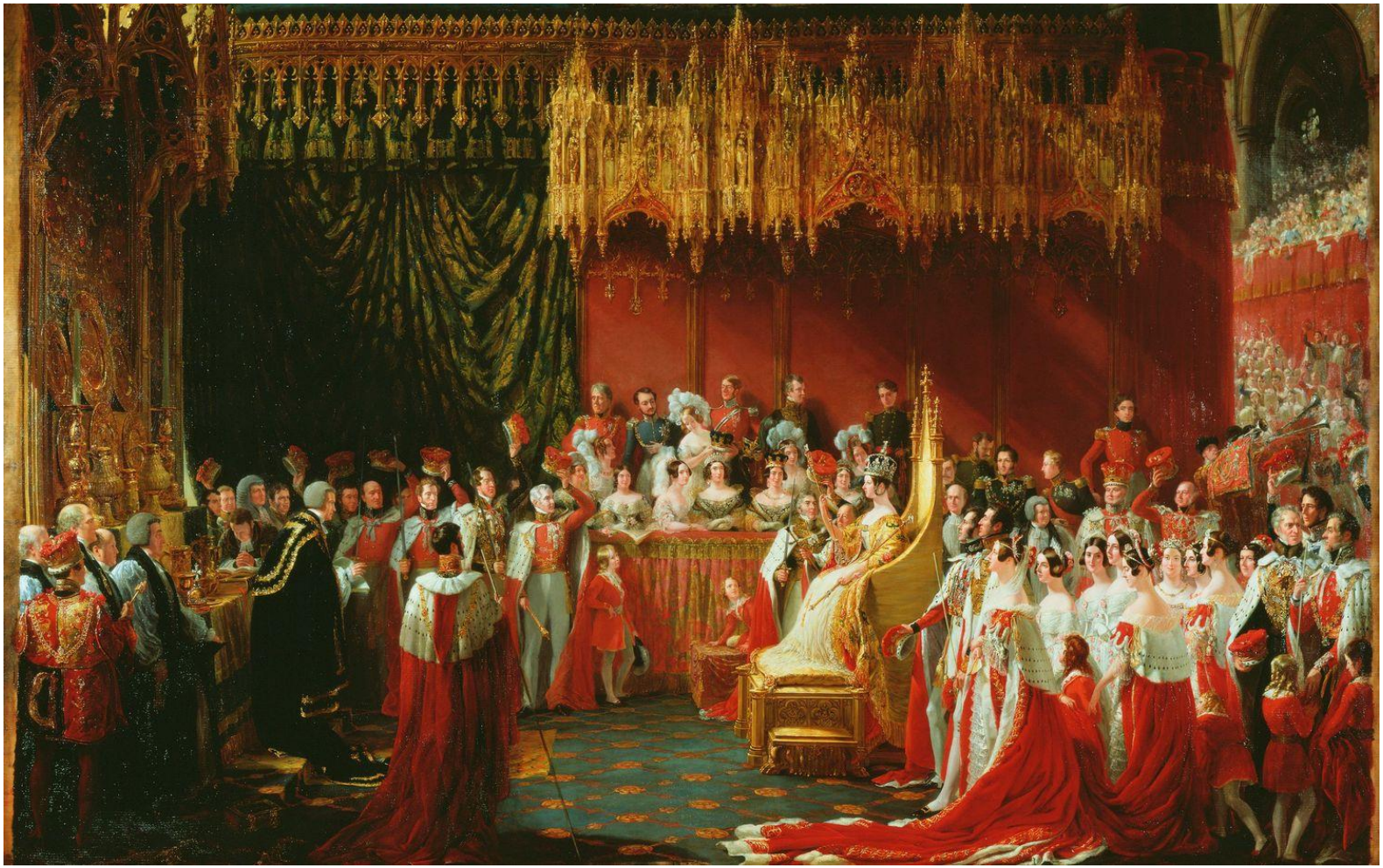


Fig. 157: Sir George Hayter, *The coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey, 28 June 1838* (1839), oil on canvas, 255.3 x 381.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 158: Henry Thomas Ryall and Henry Bryan Hall after Sir George Hayter, *The coronation of Queen Victoria, 28 June 1838* (1842), mixed-method engraving, dimensions unavailable; National Portrait Gallery, London.

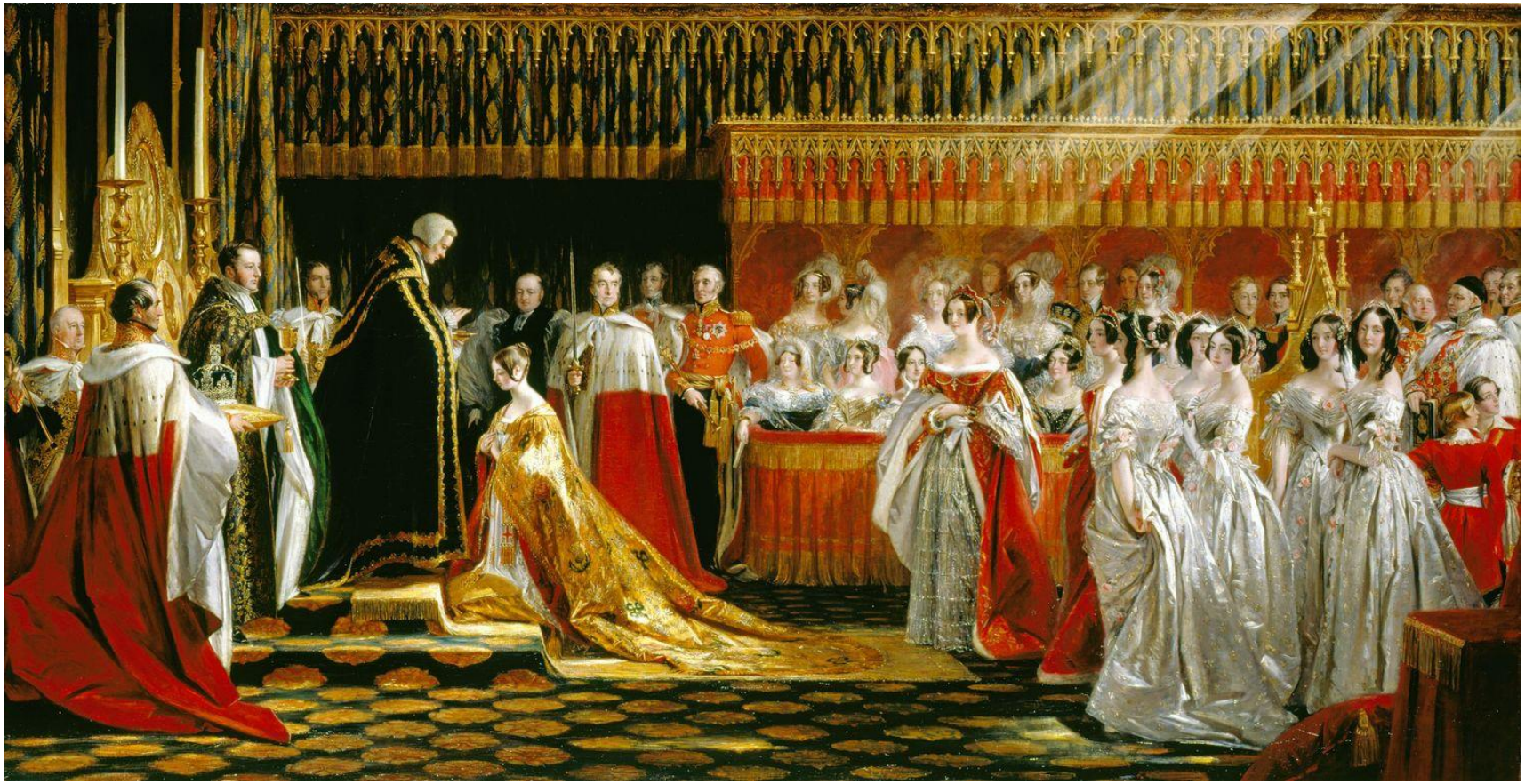


Fig. 159: Charles Robert Leslie, *Queen Victoria receiving the Sacrament at her Coronation, 28 June 1838* (1838-9), oil on canvas, 97.0 x 187.6 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

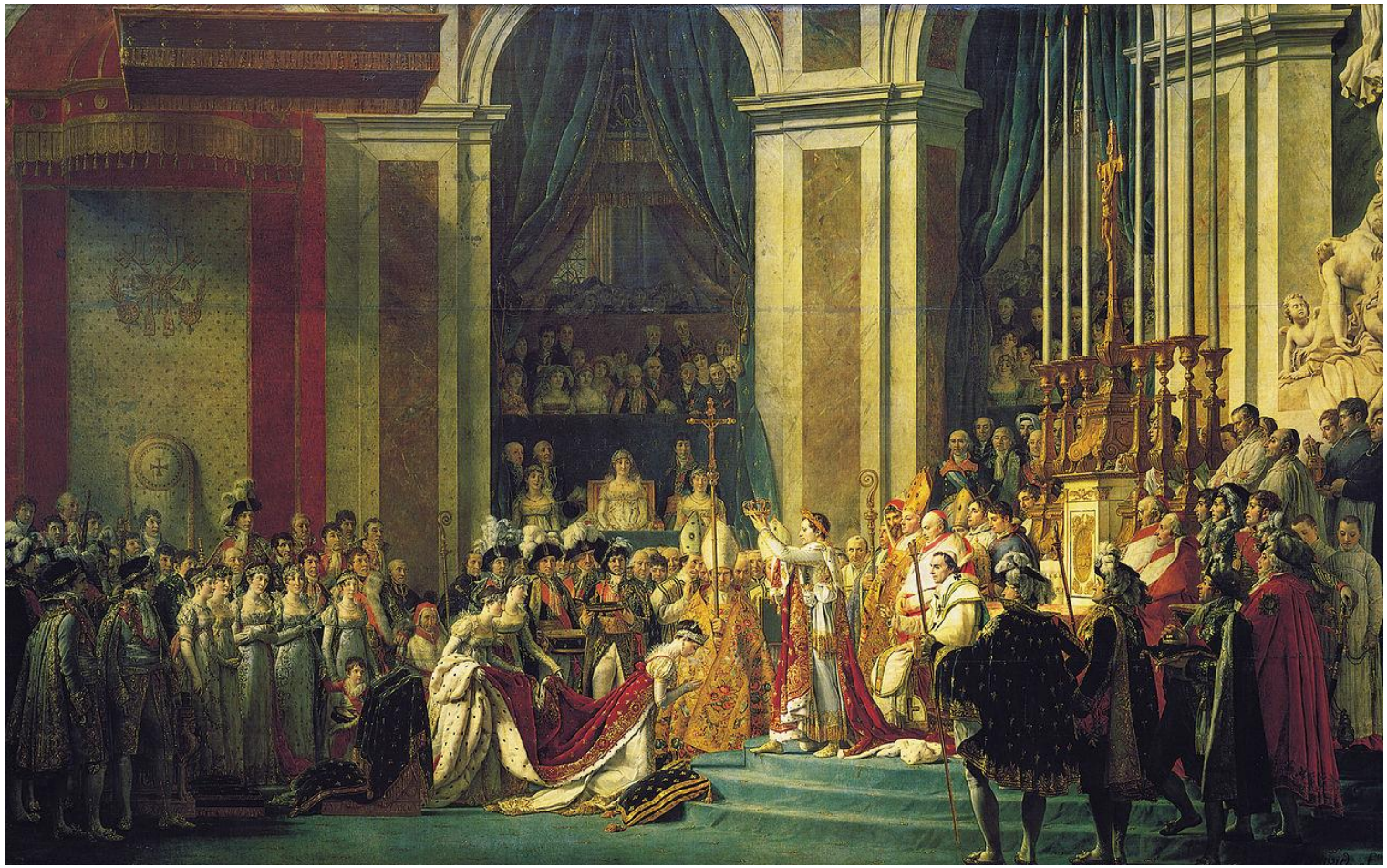


Fig. 160: Jacques-Louis David, *Consecration of the Emperor Napoleon I and coronation of the Empress Josephine in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris on 2 December 1804* (1805-07), oil on canvas, 621.0 x 979.0 cm; Musée de Louvre.

Fig. 161: Samuel Cousins after Charles Robert Leslie, *Queen Victoria receiving the Sacrament at her Coronation, 28 June 1838* (1838), engraving, dimensions unavailable; Blickling Hall, Norfolk.

Fig. 162: Edmund Thomas Parris, *The Coronation of Queen Victoria* (c. 1838), oil on canvas, 168.0 x 240.5 cm; Cartwright Hall Art Gallery.

Fig. 163: Charles Edward Wagstaff after Edmund Thomas Parris, *The Coronation of Queen Victoria* (c. 1839), engraving, dimensions unavailable; London Metropolitan Archives.

Fig. 164: John Martin, *The Coronation of Queen Victoria* (1839), oil on canvas, 238.1 x 185.4 cm; Tate Gallery.

Fig. 165: Richard Barrett Davis, *The coronation procession of William IV* (detail of part ten of ten) (1831-32), oil on canvas, 71.6 x 728.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 166: Attributed to John Wootton, *George III's procession to the Houses of Parliament* (1762-1764), oil on canvas, 90.1 x 136.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

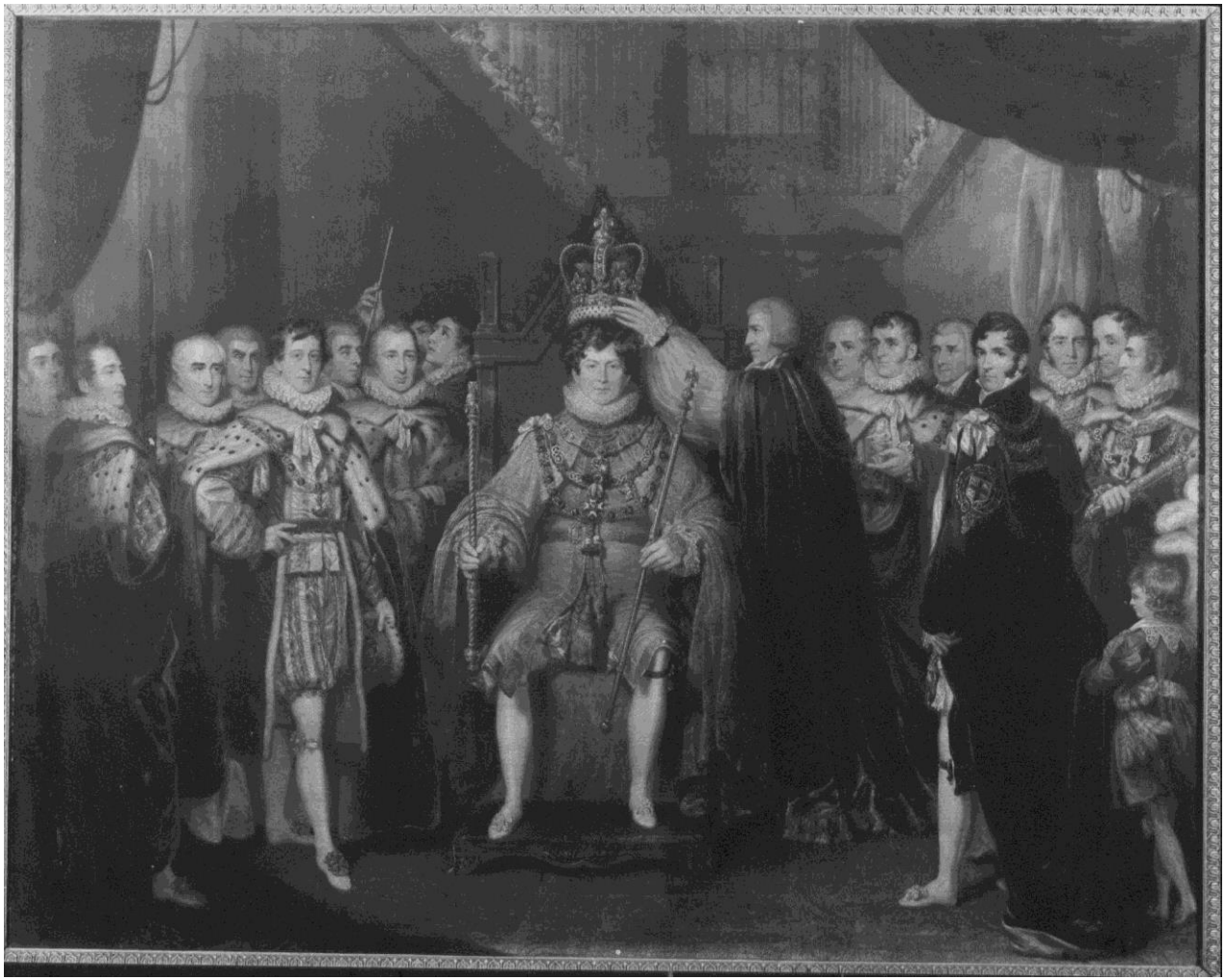


Fig. 167: British school, 19th century, *The coronation of George IV* (c. 1820-22), oil on canvas, 125.0 x 161.3 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 168: Augustus Charles Pugin and James Stephanoff, engraved by Frederick Christian Lewis, *The coronation of King George IV in Westminster Abbey, 19th July, 1821* (1821), aquatint on paper, 52.0 x 43.0 cm; London Metropolitan Archives.

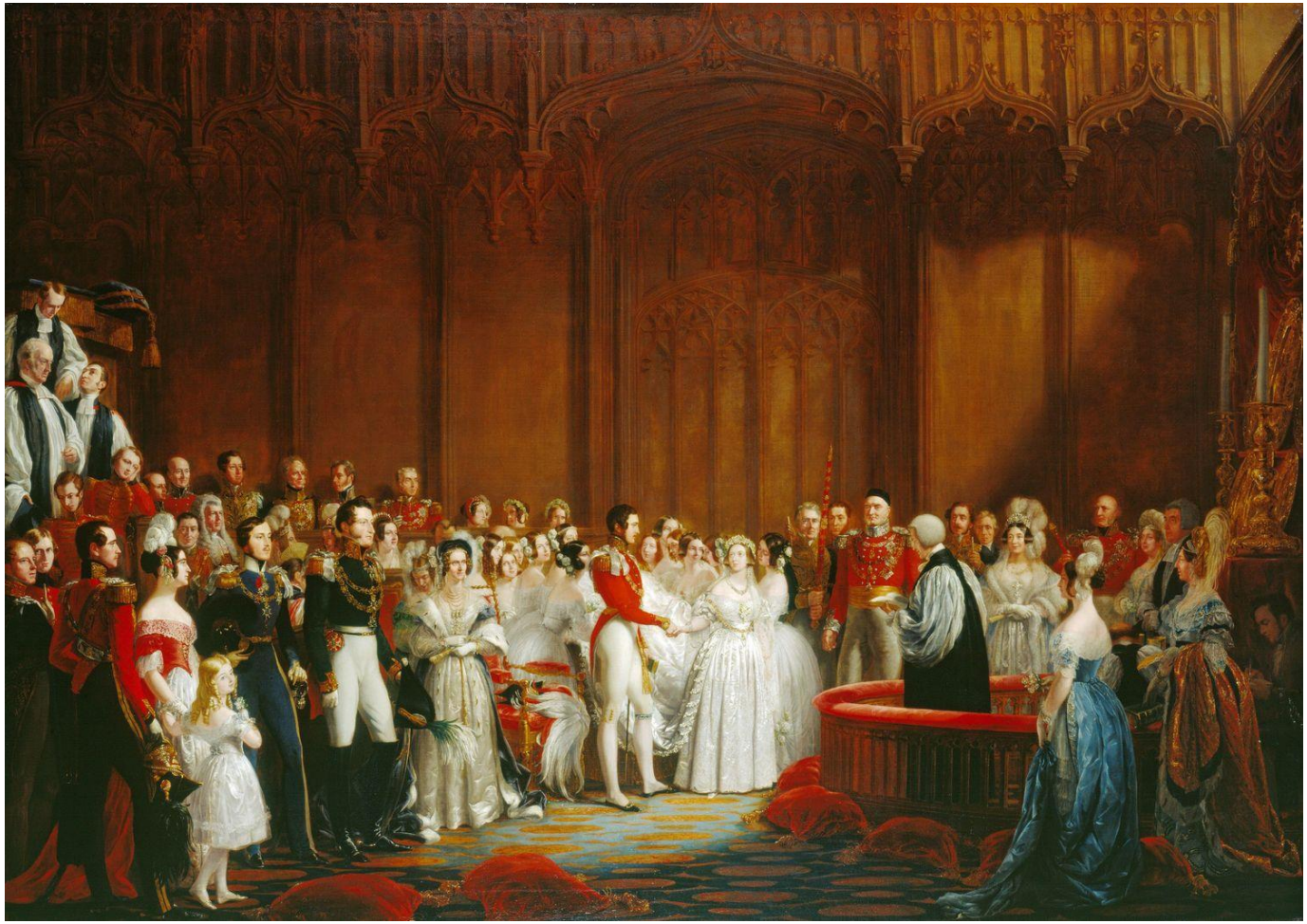


Fig. 169: Sir George Hayter, *The marriage of Queen Victoria, 10 February 1840* (1842), oil on canvas, 195.8 x 273.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig, 170: Charles Edward Wagstaff after Sir George Hayter, *The wedding of her Majesty Queen Victoria and H. R. H. the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 10 February 1840* (c. 1845), engraving, 62.3 x 90.8 cm; Government Art Collection.

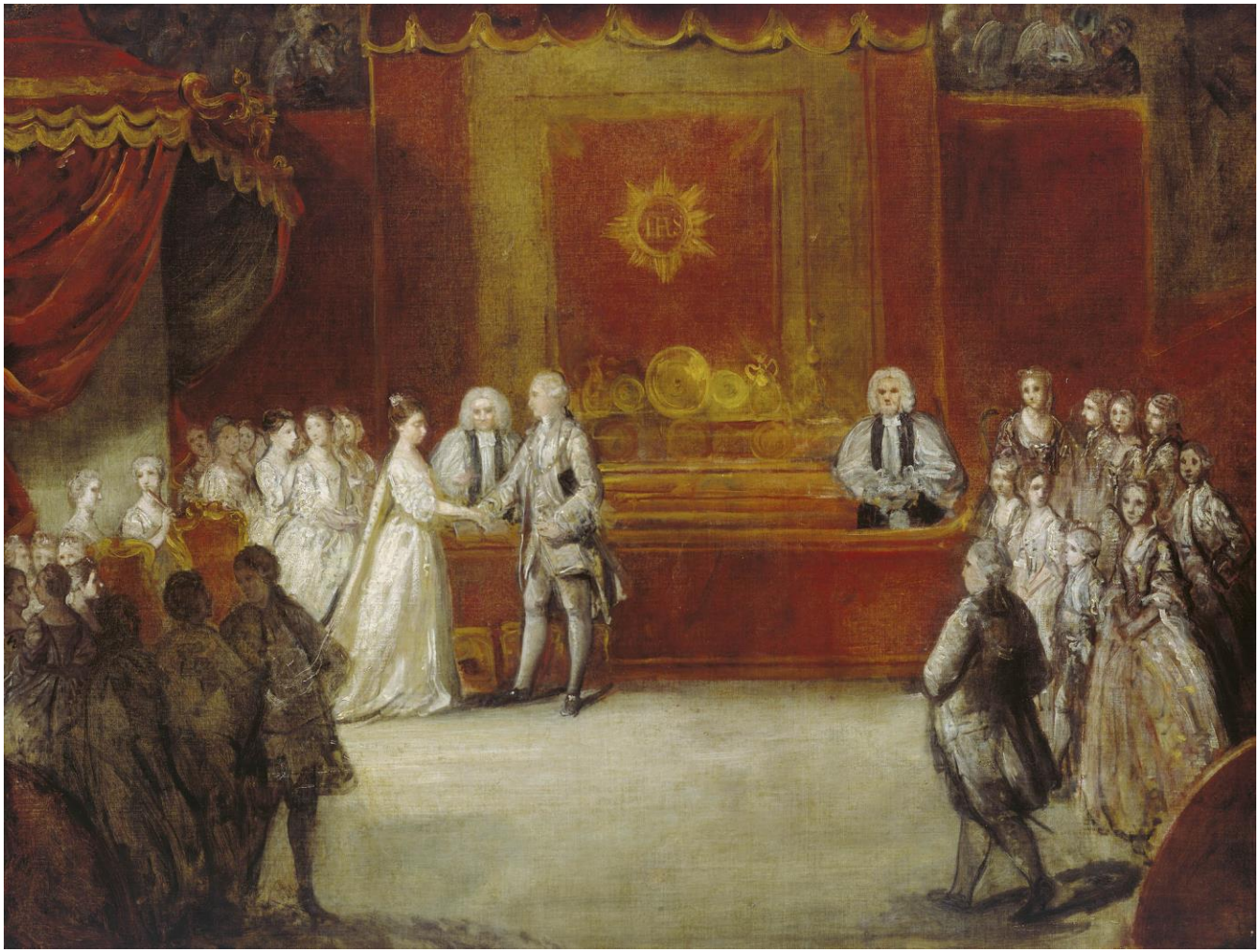


Fig. 171: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *The marriage of George III* (1761), oil on canvas, 96.0 x 124.8 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 172: Henry Singleton, *The marriage of George IV when Prince of Wales* (1795), oil on canvas, 48.5 c 60.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

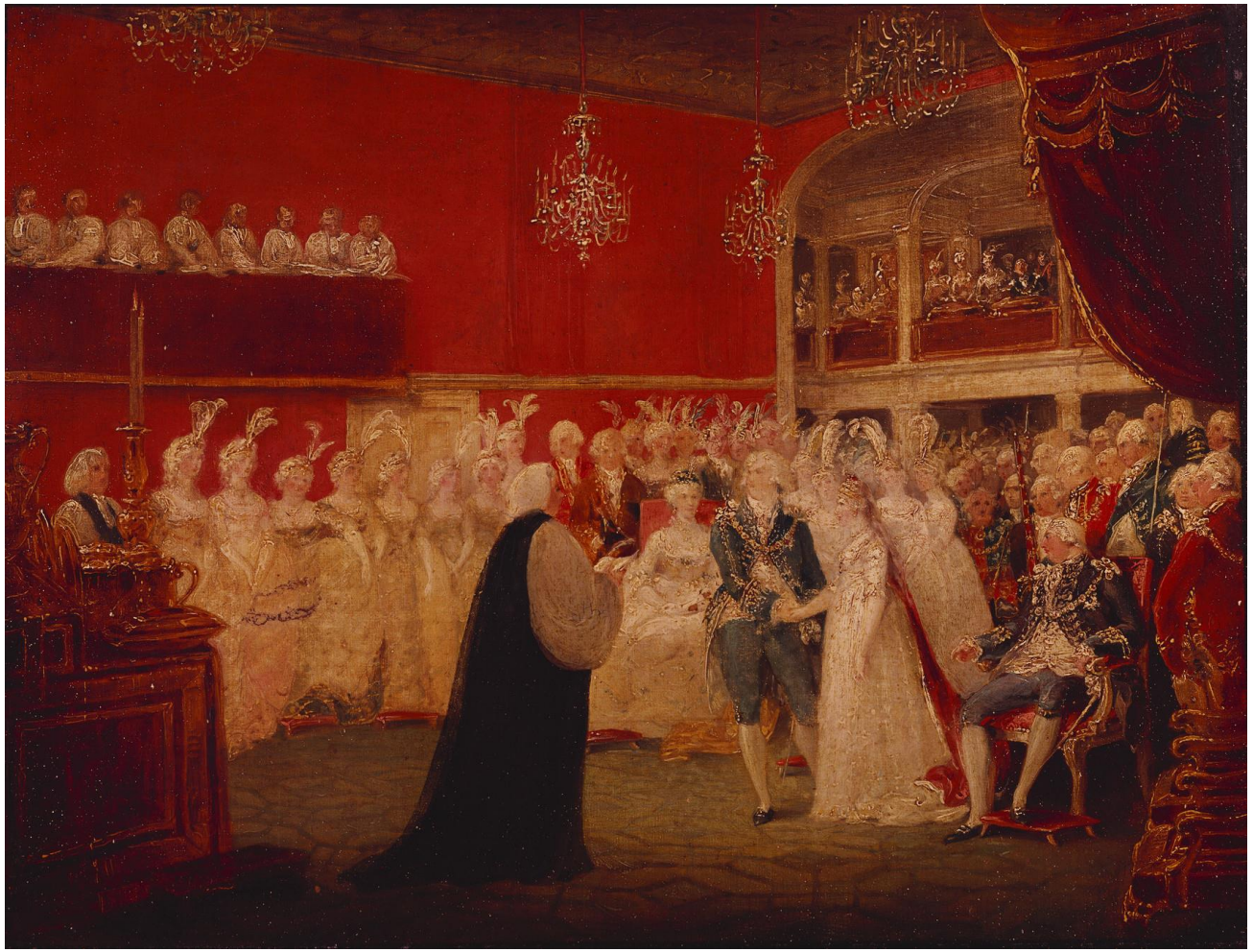


Fig. 173: William Hamilton, *The marriage of George, Prince of Wales, and Princess Caroline of Brunswick* (c. 1795-7), oil on canvas, 40.6 x 53.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 174: Henry Singleton, *The marriage of the Duke and Duchess of York* (1791), oil on canvas, 102.24 x 127.0 cm; Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Fig. 175: Joseph Grozer after Henry Singleton, *The marriage ceremony of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York* (1797), mezzotint, 53.0 x 63.5 cm; British Museum.

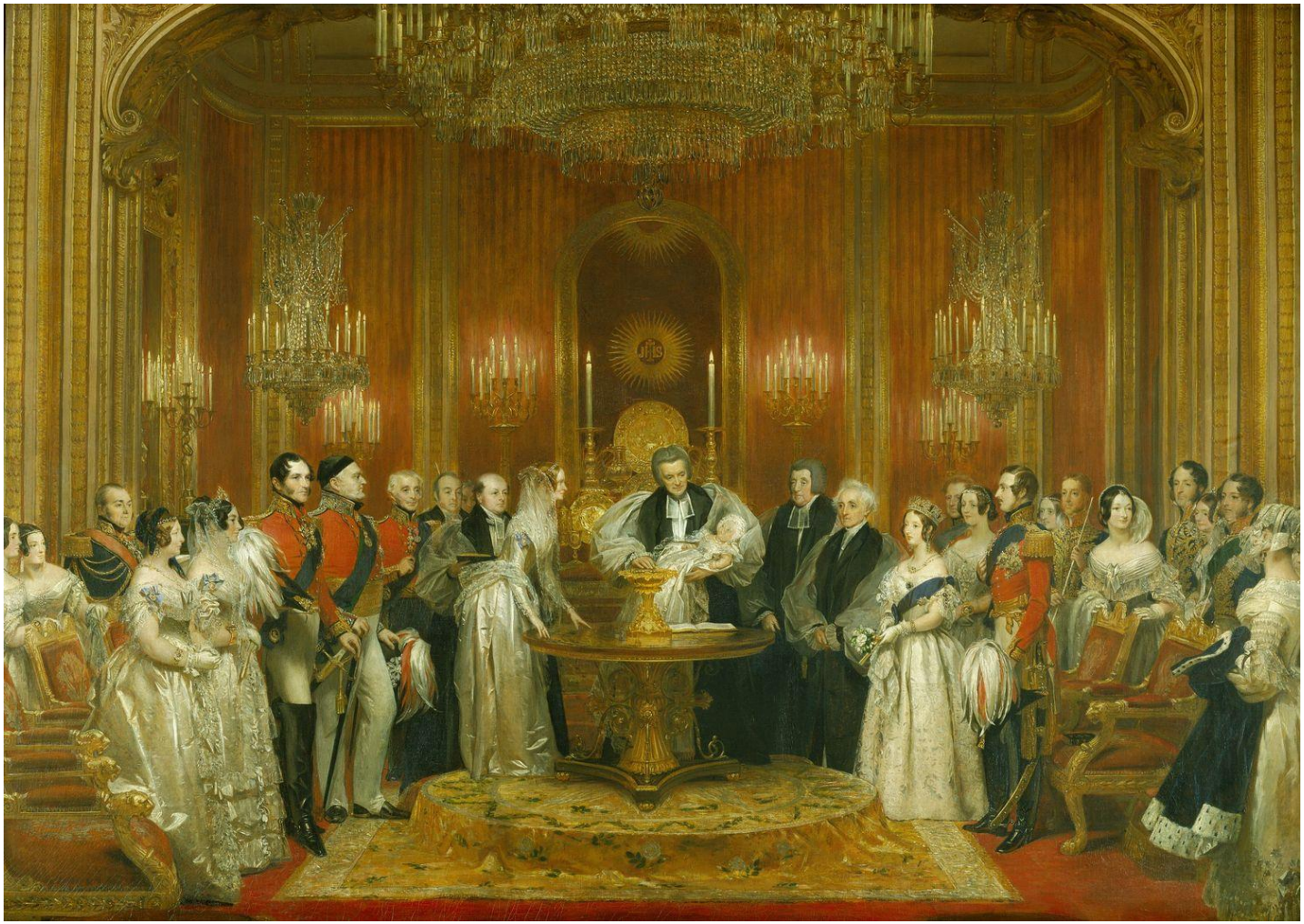


Fig. 176: Charles Robert Leslie, *The Christening of Victoria, Princess Royal, 10 February 1841* (c. 1841-2), oil on canvas, 129.5 x 184.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 177: Henry Thomas Ryall after Charles Robert Leslie, *The christening of the Princess Royal* (1849), mixed media, 69.0 x 117 cm; The British Museum.

Fig. 178: Sir George Hayter, *The Christening of the Prince of Wales, 25 January 1842* (1842-5), oil on canvas, 193.0 x 274.5 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 179: Jerry Barrett, *Queen Victoria's first visit to her wounded soldiers* (1856), oil on canvas, 141.9 x 213.3 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London

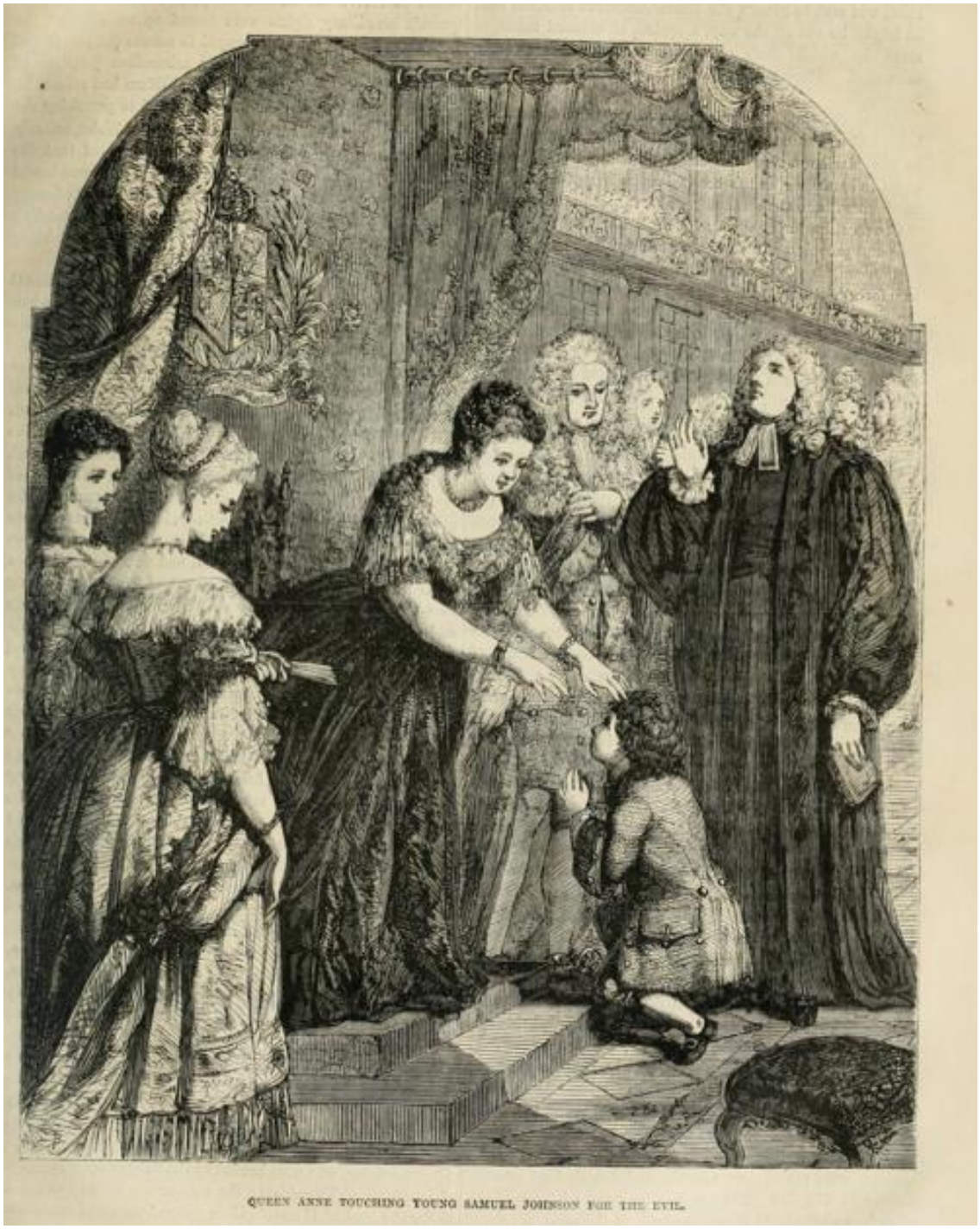


Fig. 180: English school, 19th century, *Queen Anne touching young Samuel Johnson for the evil* (c. 1858), engraving, dimensions unavailable; private Collection.

Fig. 181: Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte visiting the victims of the plague at Jaffa, March 11, 1799* (1804), oil on canvas, 523.0 x 715.0 cm; Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 182: Paul Emile Boutigny, *Napoleon rendant visite aux blesses (Napoleon visiting the wounded)* (c. 1890), oil on canvas, dimensions unavailable; Bowers Museum, on loan from the Dr Howard and Linda Knohl Private Collection.

Fig. 183: Jerry Barrett, *The mission of mercy: Florence Nightingale receiving the wounded at Scutari* (1857), oil on canvas, 141.0 x 212.7 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 184: Edward Matthew Ward, *The investiture of Napoleon III with the Order of the Garter, 18 April 1855* (1860), oil on canvas, 97.3 x 176.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 185: Edward Matthew Ward, *Queen Victoria at the tomb of Napoleon, 24 August 1855* (1860), oil on canvas, 96.6 x 175.6; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015

Fig. 186: *Marble herm with a portrait of Ptolemy* (240 BC – 200 BC), marble, 39 cm high: British Museum, acquired in 1856.

Fig. 187: *The St Eustace head reliquary* (1180-1200), wood, silver, rock crystal, pearl, glass, carnelian, chalcedony, amethyst, 35.0 x 16.6 x 18.4 cm; the British Museum.

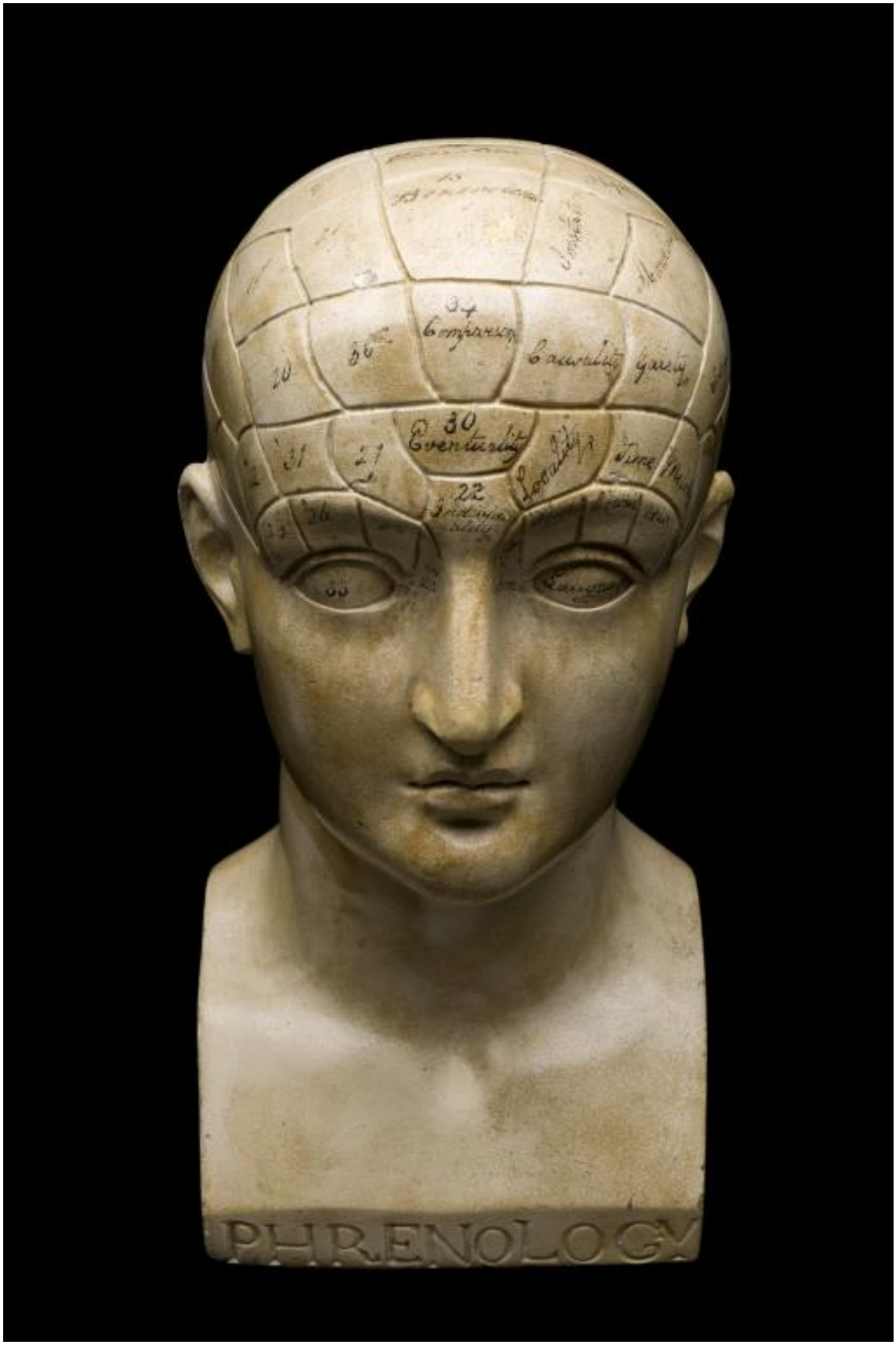


Fig. 188: James DeVille, *Phrenological bust* (1821), plaster, 26.0 x 12.0 x 12.0; Science Museum, Blythe House.

Fig. 189: Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Queen Victoria* (1838-41), marble, dimensions unavailable; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 190: Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Queen Victoria* (1841), marble, 70.5 cm high; National Portrait Gallery.

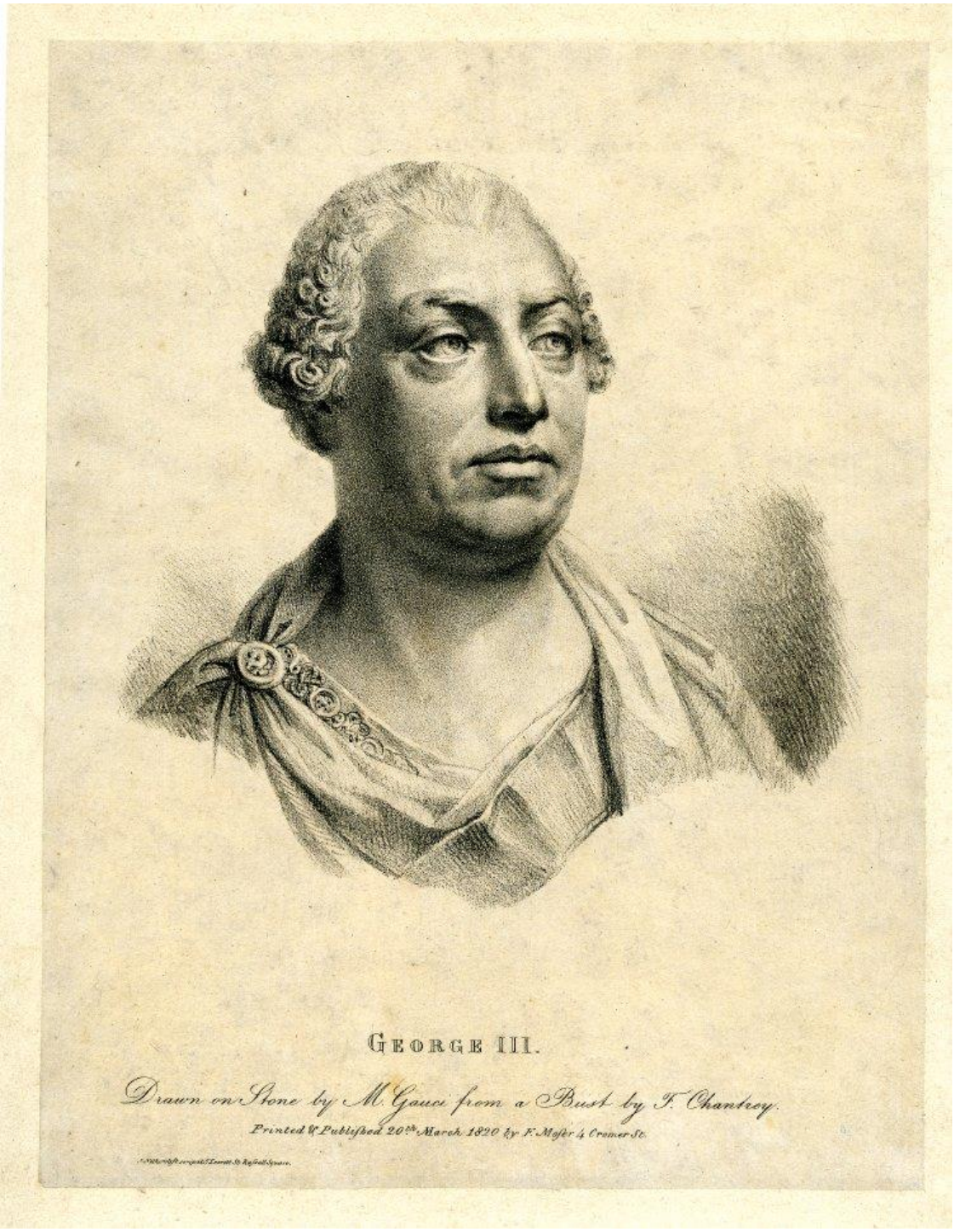


Fig. 191: Maxim Gauci after Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *George III* (1820), lithograph on paper, 20.3 x 20.4 cm; The British Museum.

Fig. 192: Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *George IV* (1826), marble, 69.0 cm high; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

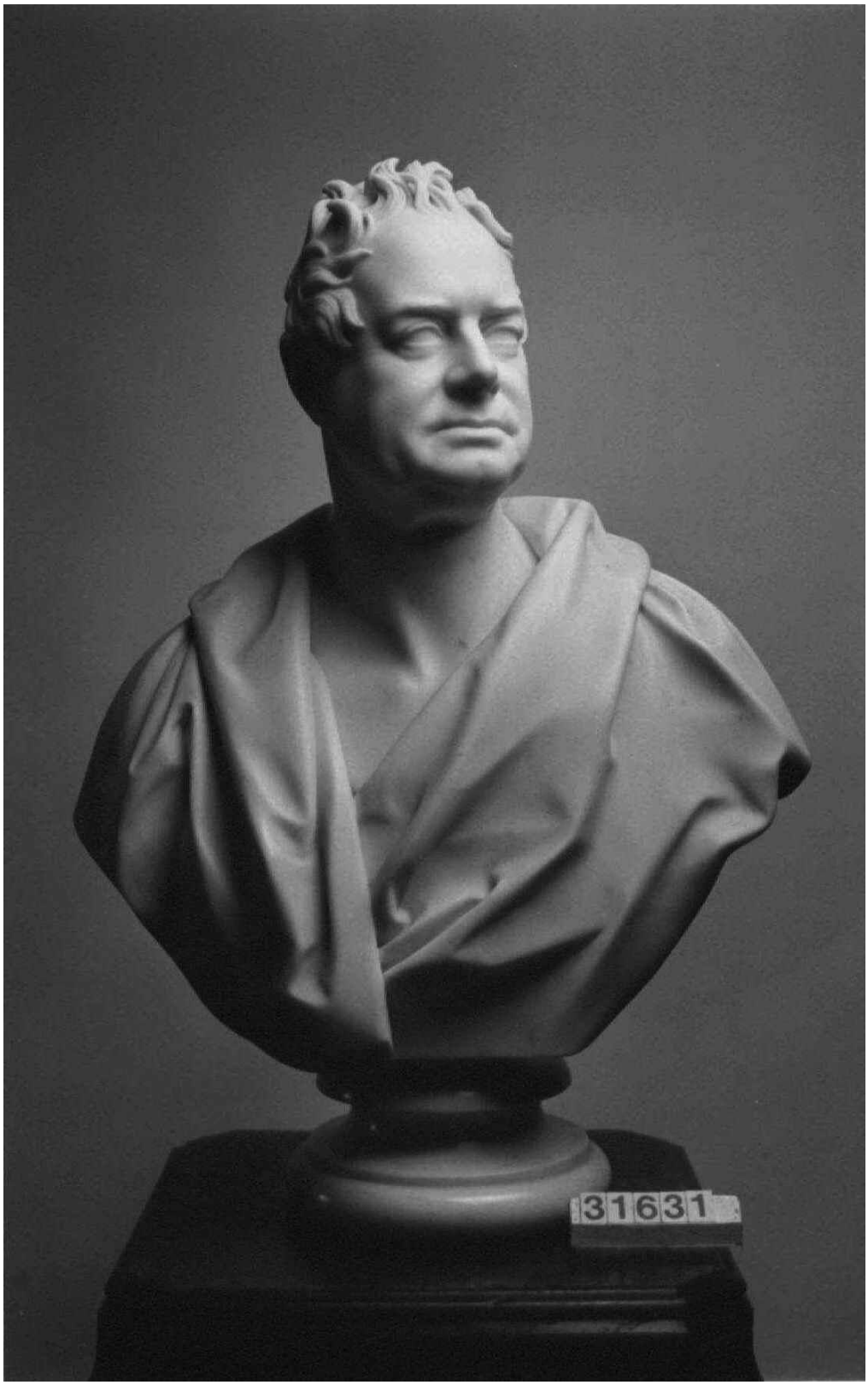


Fig. 193: Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *William IV* (1837), marble, 82.5 x 58.2 x 28.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 194: After Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Prince Albert* (c. 1850), plaster, 70.2 x 50.0 x 28.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 195: Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Queen Victoria* (c. 1839), pencil on paper, 50.8 x 41.3 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 196: Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Queen Victoria* (c. 1839), pencil on paper, 50.8 x 41.3 cm; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 197: Thomas Thornycroft after Sir Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Queen Victoria* (1849), bronze, 44 cm high; private collection.

Fig. 198: After Francis Leggatt Chantrey, *Queen Victoria* (1849), medal engraving, 18.3 x 11.6 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 199: John Francis, *Queen Victoria* (1837), marble, 71 cm high; Guildhall Art Gallery, Mansion House.

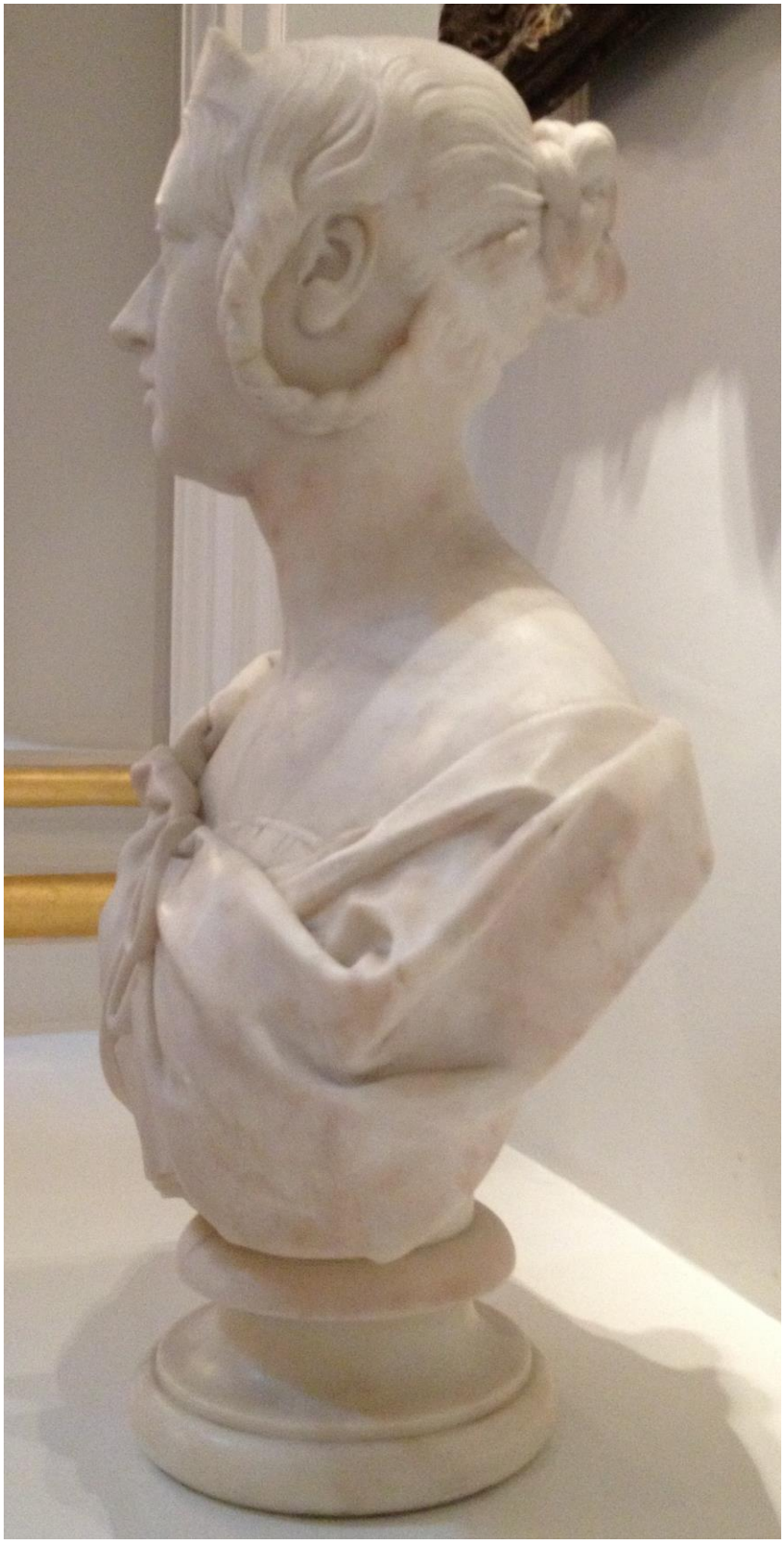


Fig. 200: John Francis, *Queen Victoria* (1837), marble, 71 cm high; Guildhall Art Gallery, Mansion House.

Fig. 201: John Francis, *Prince Albert* (1840), marble, 76 cm high; Guildhall Art Gallery, Mansion House.

Fig. 202: Sir Francis Chantrey, *Mary Somerville* (1833-1840), marble, 76.2 cm high; Royal Society.

Fig. 203: Sir Francis Chantrey, *Mary Somerville* (1832), pencil on paper, 48.6 x 65.1 cm; National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 204: Henry Weekes, *Queen Victoria* (1838), marble, 69.85 cm high; private Collection.

Fig. 205: Henry Weekes, *Queen Victoria* (date unavailable), biscuit ware, dimensions unavailable; private Collection.

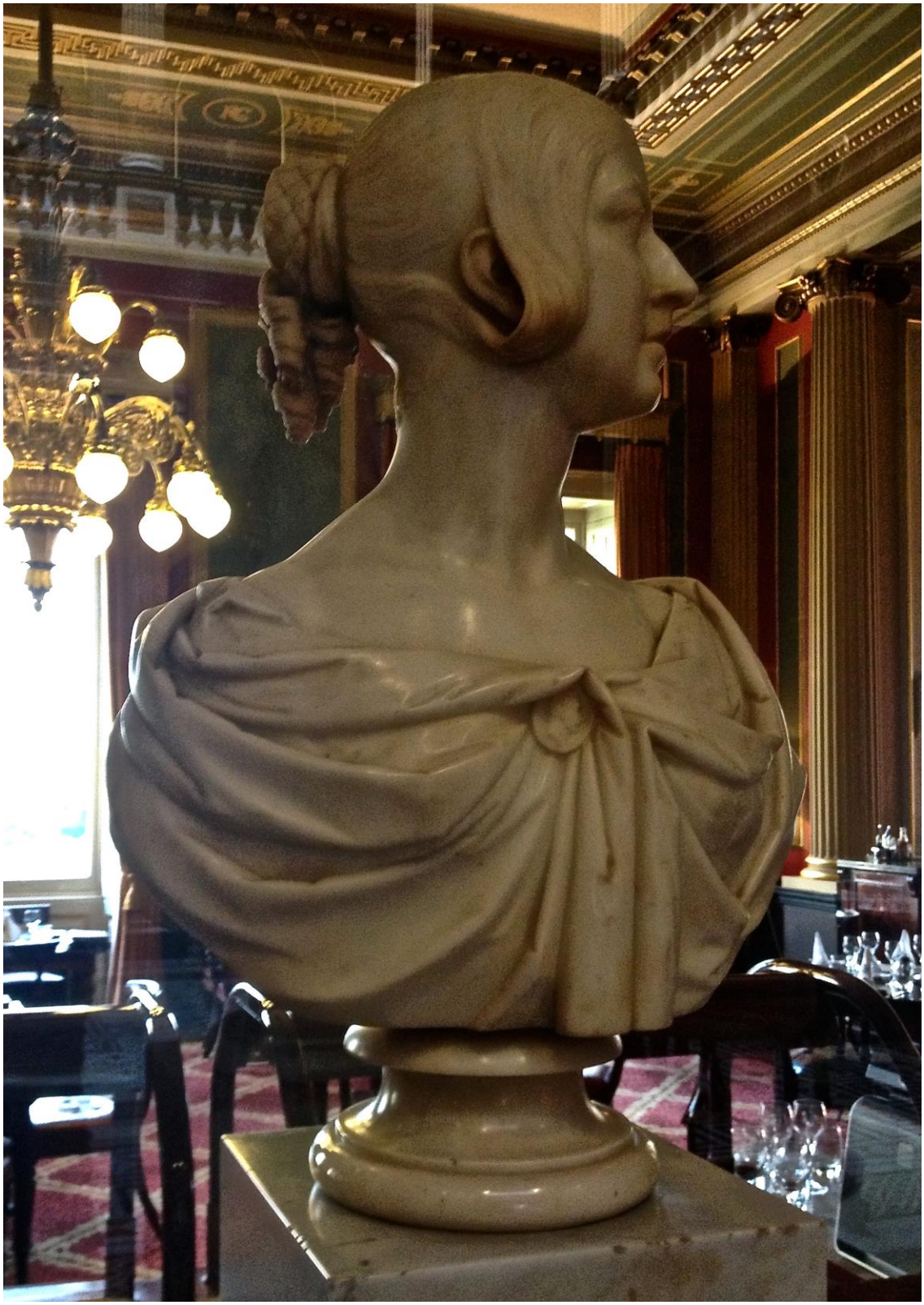


Fig. 206: John Francis, *Queen Victoria* (1841), marble, dimensions unavailable; Reform Club, London.

Fig. 207: Johann Jacob Flatters, *Queen Victoria* (1843), marble, 67.3 x 45 x 23 cm; Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 208: Johann Jacob Flatters, *Queen Victoria* (1843), marble, 67.3 x 45 x 23 cm; Victoria and Albert Museum.

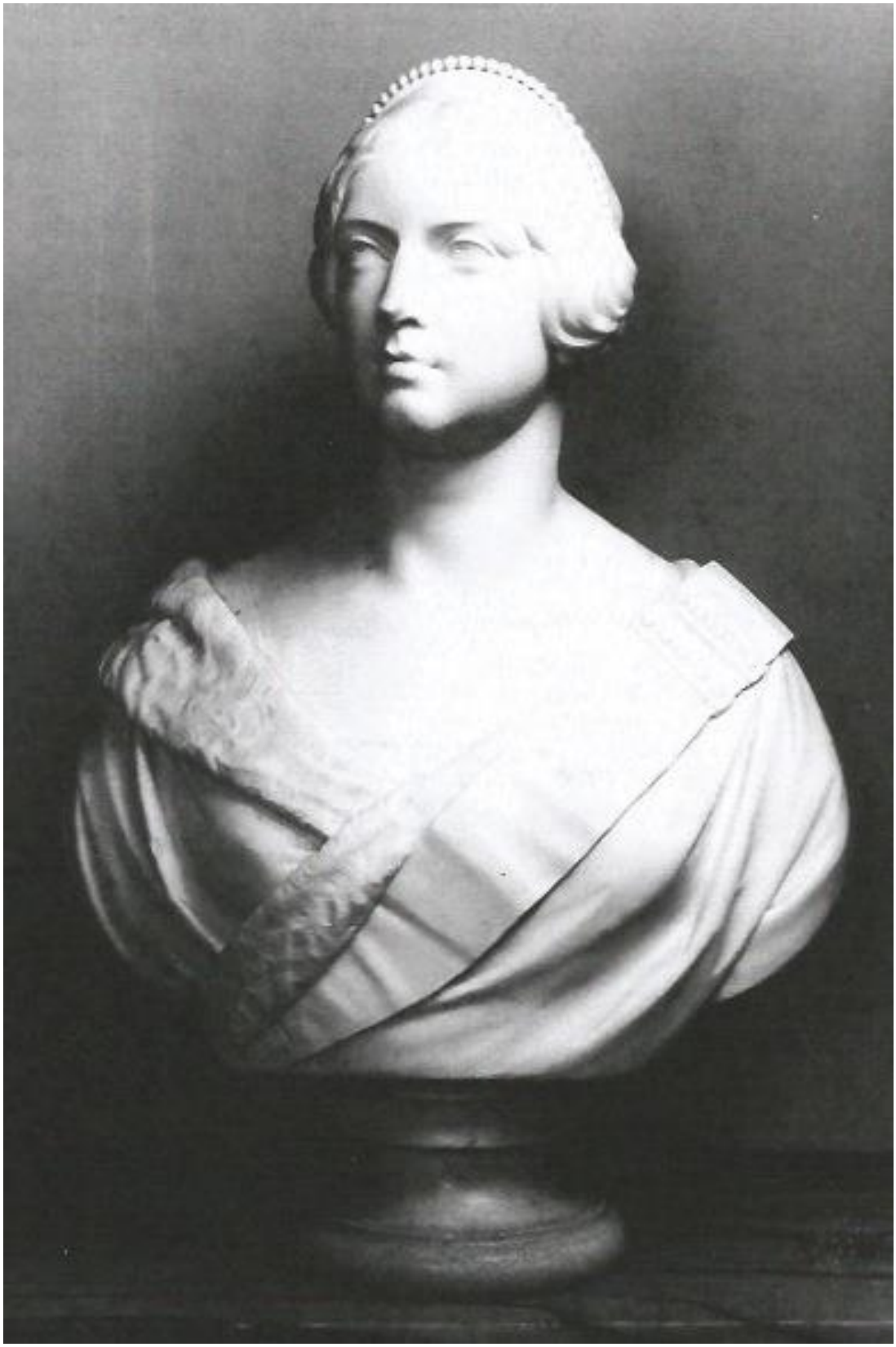


Fig. 209: John Francis, *Queen Victoria* (1851), marble, 63.5 cm high; The Draper's Company.

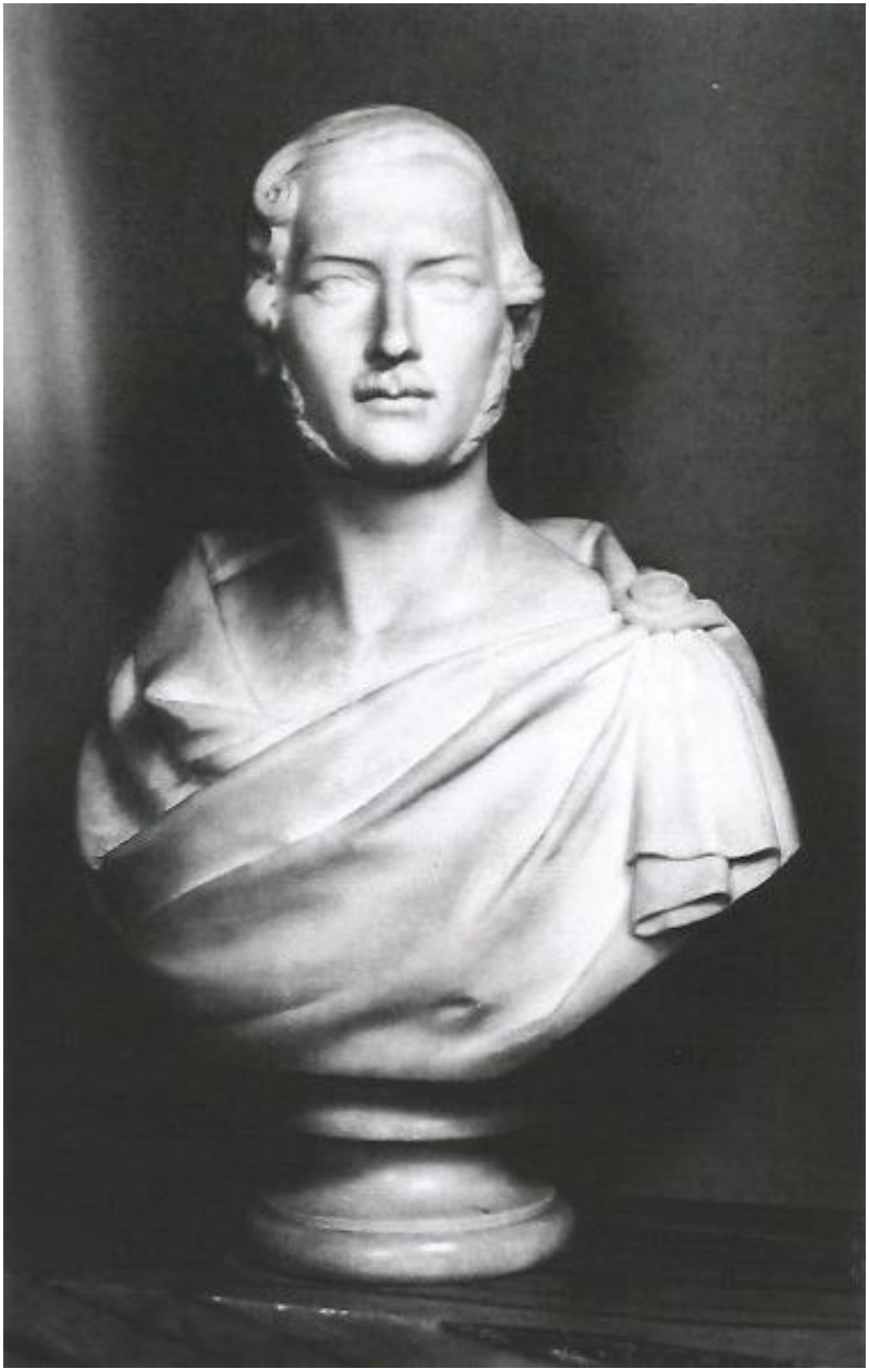


Fig. 210: John Francis, *Prince Albert* (1845), marble, 64.77 cm high; The Draper's Company.

Fig. 211: John Francis, *King William IV* (1852), marble, 66.68 cm; The Draper's Company.

Fig. 212: John Francis, *George IV and Queen Caroline* (1823), materials unavailable, 19 cm high each; private Collection.

Fig. 213: John Francis, *Henry Granville, Duke of Norfolk* (1845), marble, 63.5 cm high; Arundel Castle.

Fig. 214: John Francis, *Charlotte Sophia, Duchess of Norfolk* (1845), marble, 59.69 cm high; Arundel Castle.

Fig. 215: Robert Physick, *Queen Victoria* (1851), marble, 57.2 cm high; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 216: Robert Physick, *Queen Victoria* (1851), marble, 57.2 cm high; National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 217: Baron Carlo Marochetti, *Queen Victoria* (c. 1850-55), marble, 57.1 cm high; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 218: William Theed, *Queen Victoria* (date unavailable), parianware, 33.5 x 21.5 x 12.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 219: After William Theed, *Prince Albert and Queen Victoria* (1864), parianware, 32 cm high; Current location unknown.

Fig. 220: William Theed, *Victoria, Duchess of Kent* (1861), marble, dimensions unavailable; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 221: Baron Carlo Marochetti, *Princess Victoire of Saxe-Coburg, duchesse de Nemours* (1857), plaster, 73.5 x 55.5 x 29.7 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 222: Joseph Durham, *Queen Victoria* (1855), plaster, 72 cm high; Foundling Hospital, London.

Fig. 223: Richard Austin Artlett after Joseph Durham, *Her Majesty the Queen* (1857), stipple engraving on paper, 28.5 x 22.3 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 224: Matthew Noble, *Queen Victoria* (1856), marble, 100 cm high; Manchester City Council.

Fig. 225: Matthew Noble, *Queen Victoria* (1857), marble, 69.53 cm high; Collection of the Earl of Ellesmere.

Fig. 226: Matthew Noble, *Queen Victoria* (1856), ivory, 12 cm high; private collection.

Fig. 227: Matthew Noble, *Queen Victoria* (1857), marble, 290 cm high; Salford City Council.

Fig. 228: Matthew Noble, *Queen Victoria* (1857), marble, 290 cm high; Salford City Council.

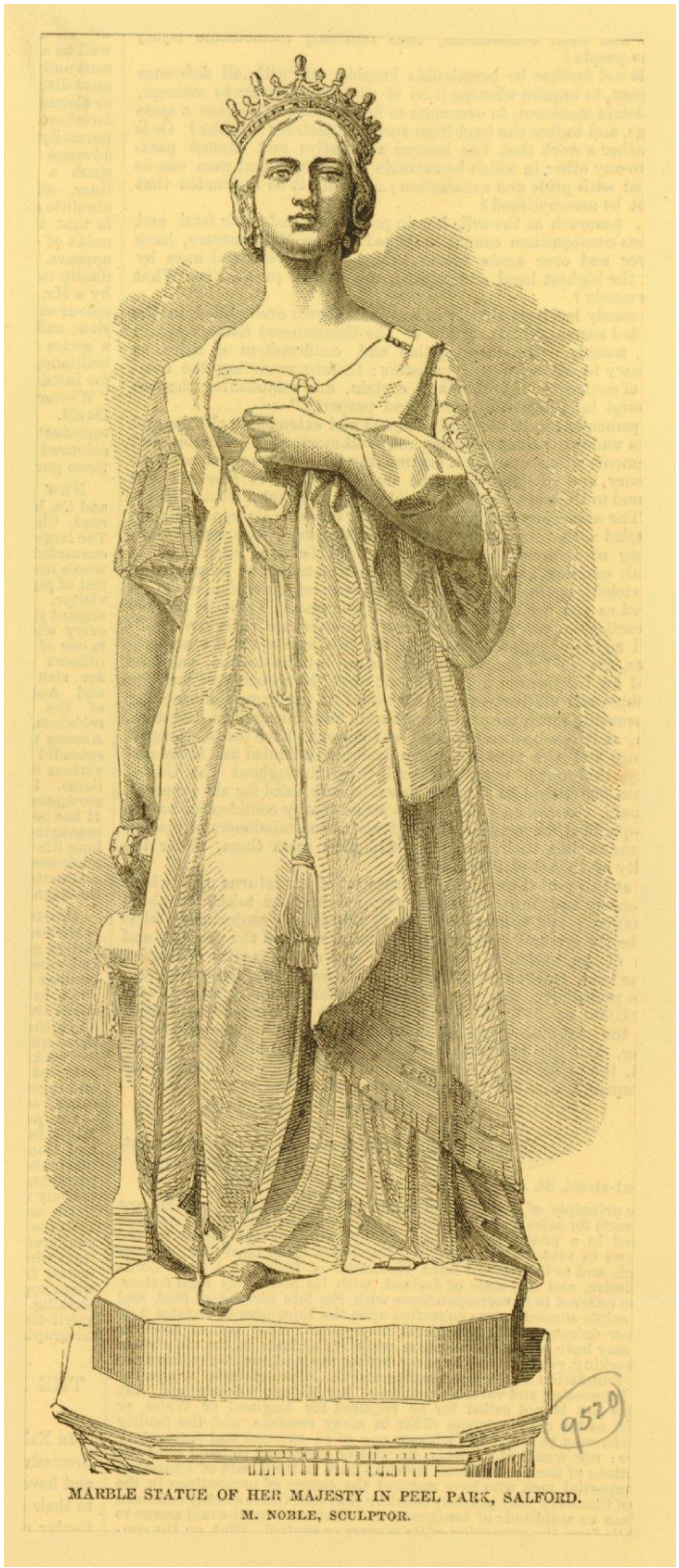


Fig. 229: After Matthew Noble, *Her Majesty the Queen* (1857), wood engraving on paper, 19.6 x 7.8 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 230: Matthew Noble, *Prince Albert* (1864), marble, 295 cm high; Salford City Council.

Fig. 231: Matthew Noble, *Queen Victoria* (1858), marble, 259.08 cm high; Leeds City Council.

Fig. 232: After Matthew Noble, *Statue of Queen Victoria in the new townhall Leeds* (1858), wood engraving, 31.8 x 22.8 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 233: Thomas Earle, *Queen Victoria* (1861), marble, 78.8 cm high; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

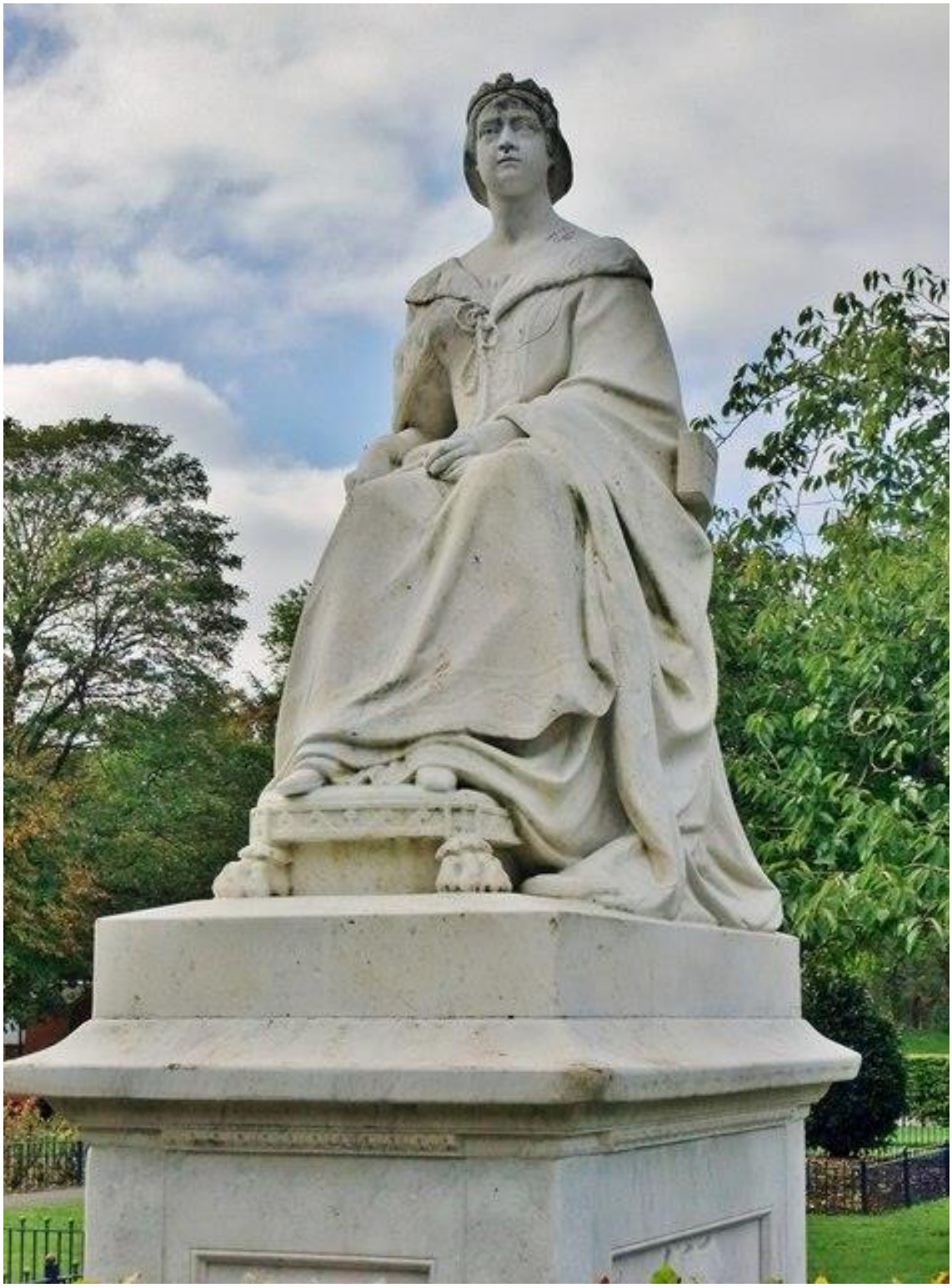


Fig. 234: Thomas Earle, *Queen Victoria* (1861), marble, dimensions unavailable; Hull City Council, Pearson Park.

Fig. 235: Thomas Earle, *Prince Albert* (1868), marble, dimensions unavailable; Hull City Council, Pearson Park.

Fig. 236: John Gibson, *Queen Victoria*, front view (1847), marble, 170.2 cm high; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 237: John Gibson, *Queen Victoria*, back view (1847), marble, 170.2 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 238: Emil Wolff, *Prince Albert* (1846), marble, 191.1 cm high; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 239: Thomas William Hunt after John Gibson, *Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria* (c. 1849), stipple engraving on paper, 31.7 x 23.7 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 240: Richard James Wyatt, *Penelope* (1844), marble, 238.7 x 82.0 x 67.0 cm; Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

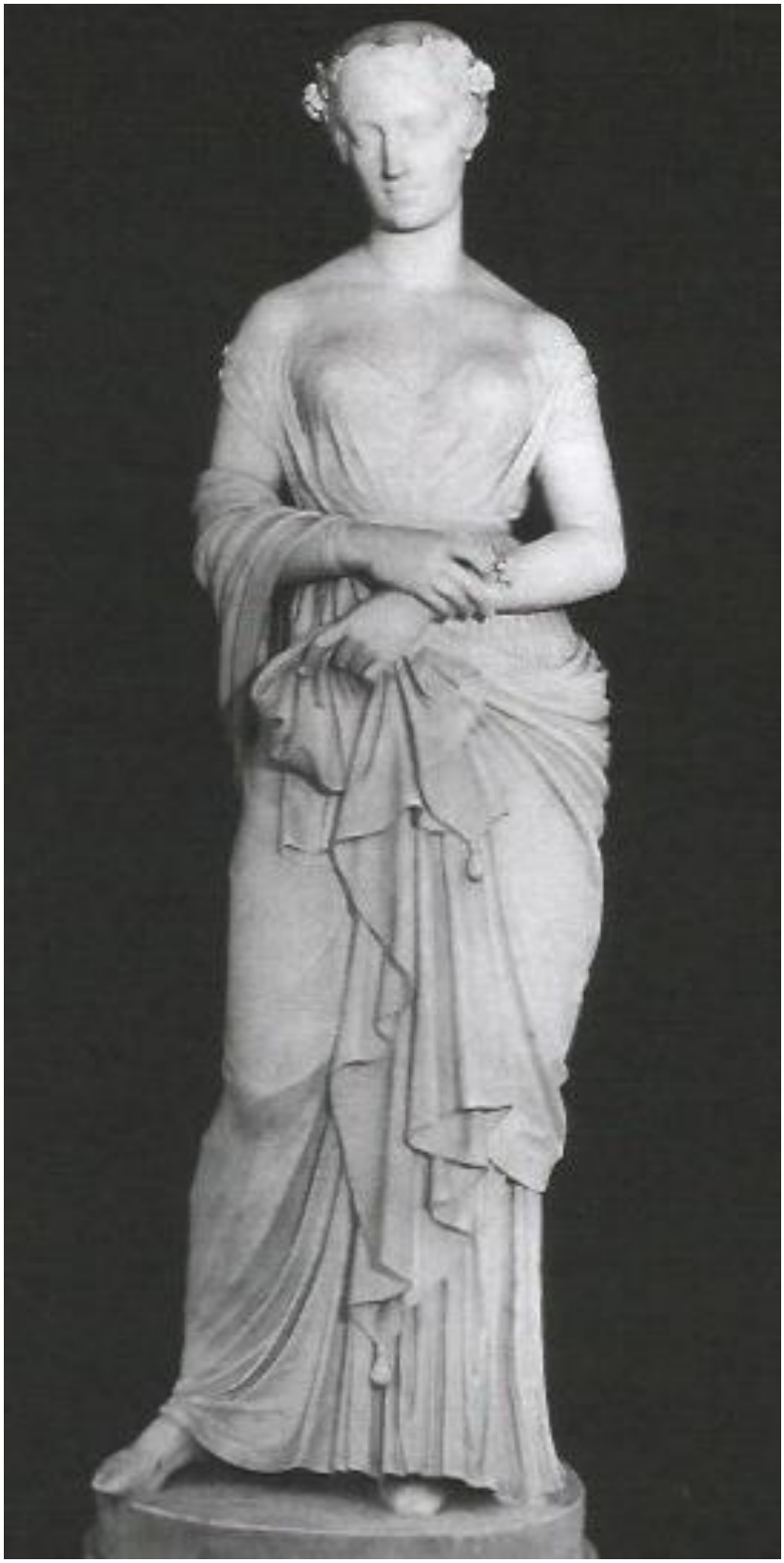


Fig. 241: John Gibson, *Mrs. Murray* (c. 1846), marble, dimensions unavailable; Stanford Hall.

Fig. 242: John Gibson, *Queen Victoria supported by Justice and Clemency* (1855), marble, dimensions unavailable; Palace of Westminster.

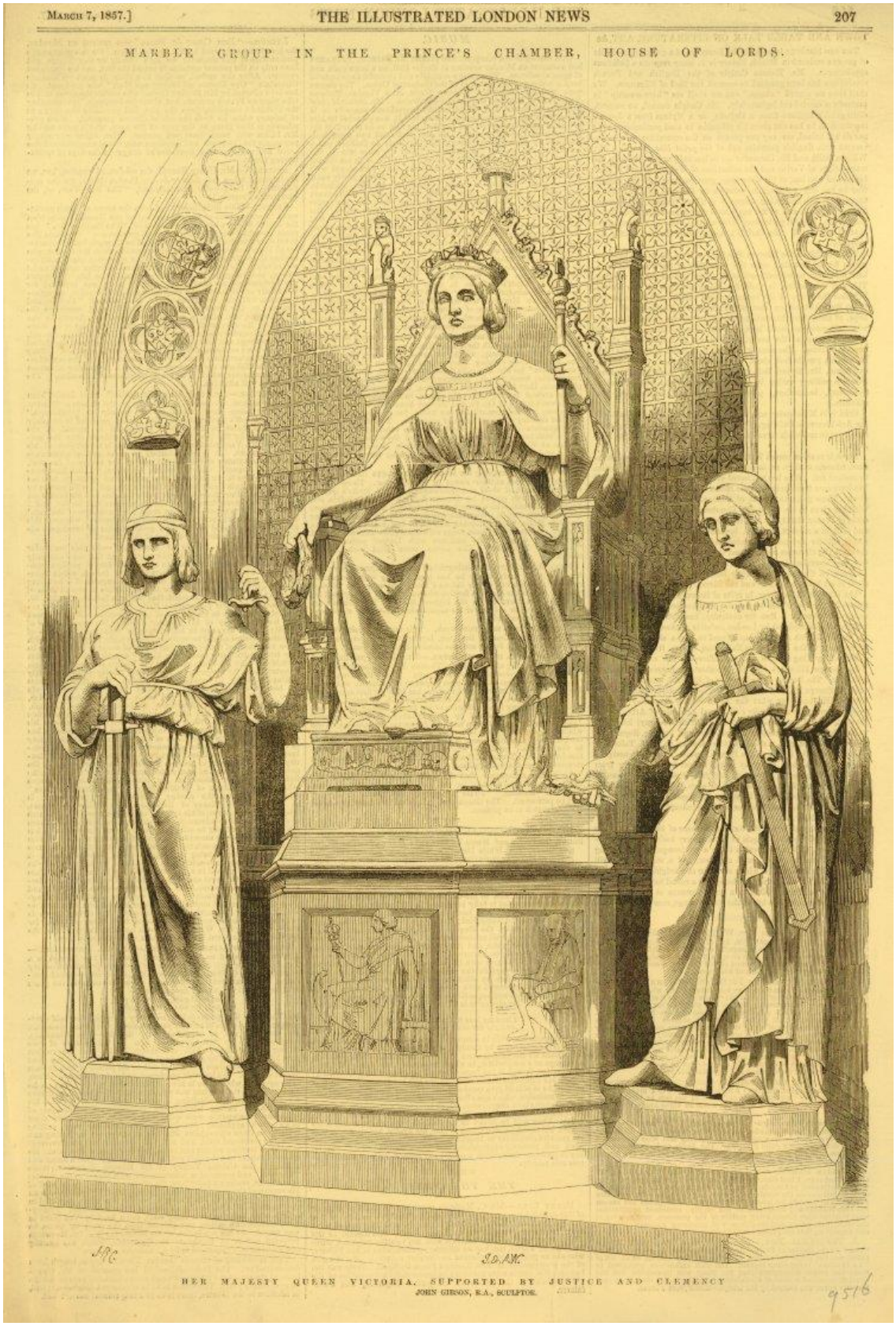


Fig. 243: *Her Majesty Queen Victoria supported by Justice and Clemency* (1855-1860), wood engraving, 33.5 x 23.5 cm; British Museum.

Fig. 244: Unknown, *Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal* (mid-1840s), wet collodion negative, 15.2 x 12.7 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 245: Roger Fenton, *Queen Victoria with her four eldest children* (8 February 1854), carbon print made in the late 1880s, copy of the original albumen print, 21.9 x 19.7 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 246: William Edward Kilburn, *Queen Victoria with the Princess Royal, the Prince of Wales, Princess Alice, Princess Helena, and Prince Alfred* (17 January 1852), daguerreotype, 9.1 x 11.5 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 247: Roger Fenton, *Queen Victoria, Buckingham Palace* (May 1854), albumen print, 9.3 x 8.8 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 248: After Sir W. Ross, *Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (c. 1840s), engraving, dimensions unavailable; published in: The Countess of Blessington (ed.), *The Book of Beauty; or regal gallery* (London, 1849).

Fig. 249: After Antoine François Jean Claudet, *Queen Victoria* (May 1854), hand-tinted stereoscopic daguerreotype, 2.4 x 10.9 x 20.2 cm (case): Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 250: Antoine Claudet, *Portrait of Selena Frewen* (circa 1855), hand-tinted stereoscopic daguerreotype, 6.8 x 5.7 cm: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 251: Leonida Caldesi and Mattia Montecchi, *The royal family on the terrace at Osborne* (26 May 1857), albumen print, 16.0 x 20.2 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

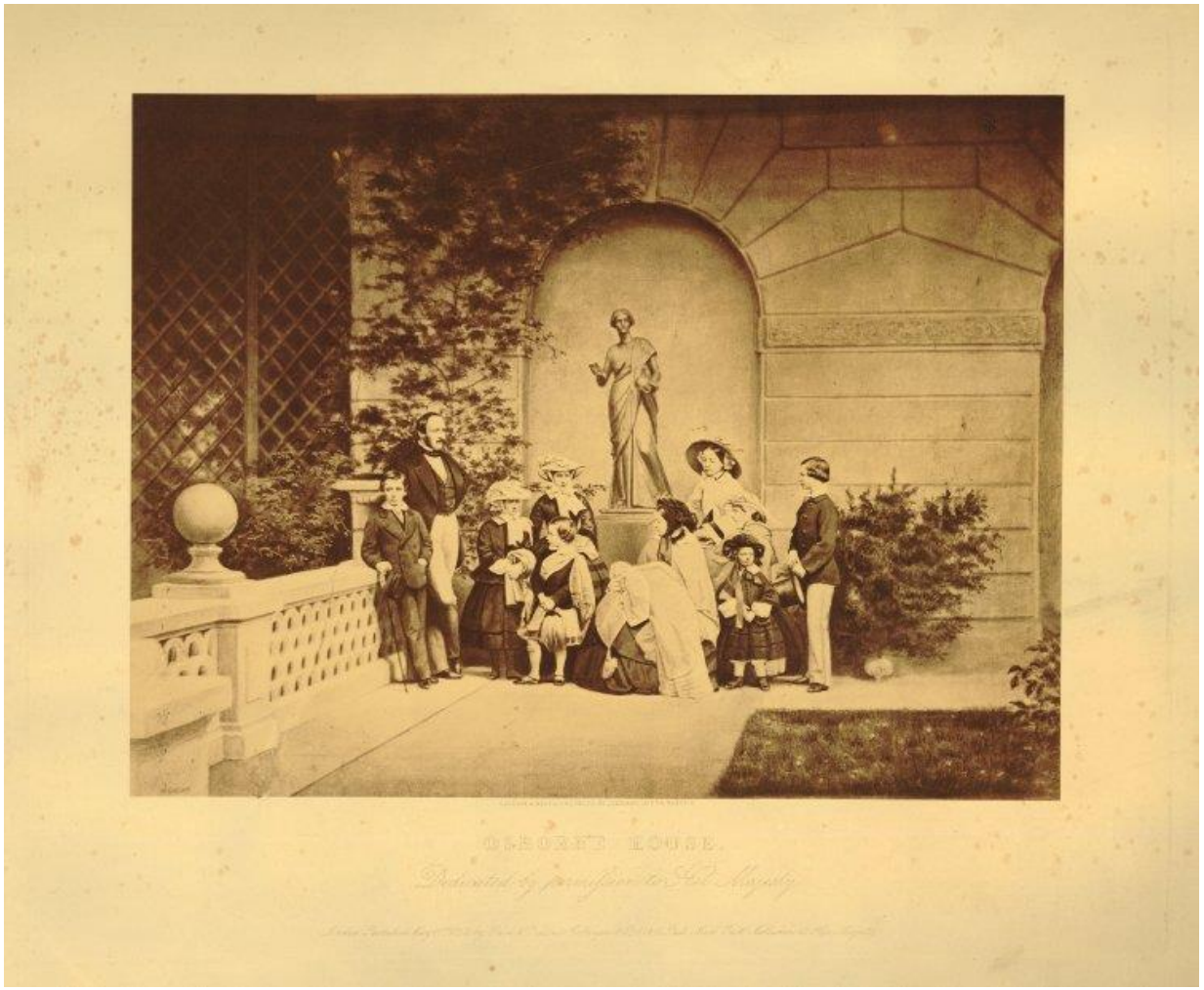


Fig. 252: Leonida Caldesi and Mattia Montecchi, published by Colnaghi, *Osborne House* (1857-58), photographic process on paper, 37.8 x 46.3 cm: The British Museum.

Fig. 253: Leonida Caldesi, *The royal family, Osborne 1857* (March 1857), photograph, 15.8 x 19.6 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 254: Leonida Caldesi and Mattia Montecchi, *The royal family on the terrace at Osborne* (detail) (26 May 1857), albumen print, 16.0 x 20.2 cm: Royal Collection; Leonida Caldesi and Mattia Montecchi, published by Colnaghi, *Osborne House* (detail) (1857-58), photographic process on paper, 37.8 x 46.3 cm: The British Museum.

Fig. 255: Leonida Caldesi, *Queen Victoria, 1857* (1857), printed in carbon, 40.2 x 30.8 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 256: Leonida Caldesi, *The Honourable Louisa Gordon and the Honourable Eleanor Stanley* (June 1857), albumen print, 18.7 x 15.0 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 257: By and after John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Group of royal family* (early 1860s), albumen *carte-de-visite* photomontage, 8.3 x 5.7 cm: The National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 258: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Queen Victoria and their children* (c. 1861), albumen carte-de-visite photomontage, 5.6 x 8.7 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 259: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria with her family* (1860s), albumen carte-de-visite, 5.6 x 8.6 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 260: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Royal album* (1860s), tinted cartes-de-visite in a leather accordion-style case, dimensions unavailable: National Media Museum.

Fig. 261: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Prince Consort* (May 1860), albumen photographic print pasted onto card, 8.5 x 5.0 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 262: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria and Princess Beatrice* (May 1860), albumen print, 7.7 x 5.2 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

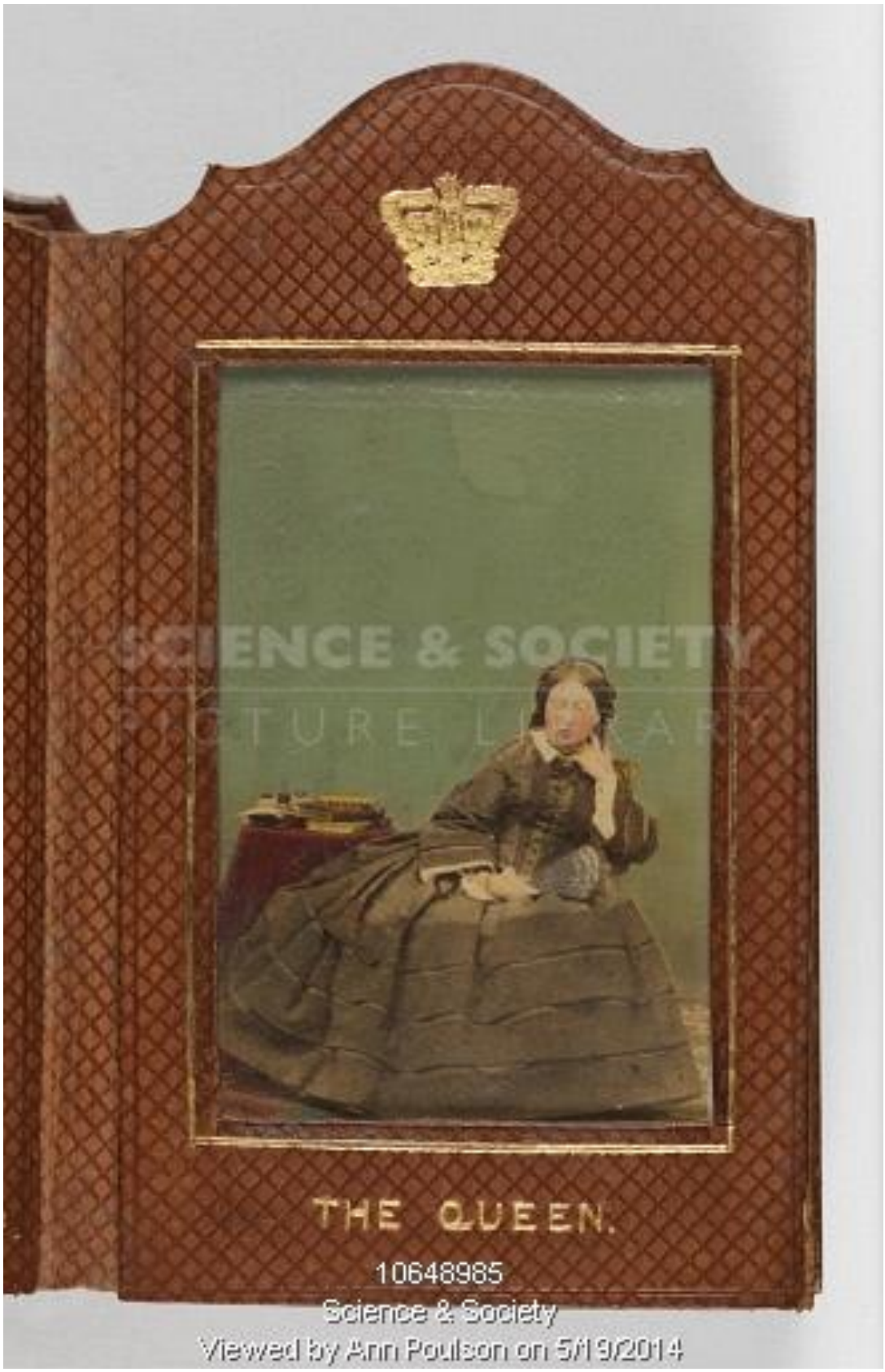


Fig. 263: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *The Queen* (1860s), tinted carte-de-visite, dimensions unavailable: National Media Museum.

Fig. 264: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Prince Consort* (May 1860), albumen photographic print pasted onto card, 8.5 x 5.0 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 265: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Prince Consort* (March 1861), albumen photographic print pasted onto card, 8.5 x 5.0 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 266: Unknown person after John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Prince Consort* (circa 1850s), albumen photographic print pasted onto card, 9.6 x 6.2 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 267: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Prince Consort* (c. 1859-60), albumen photographic print pasted onto card, 8.5 x 5 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 268: André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, *Napoléon III, Emperor of the French, and the Empress Eugénie* (circa 1859), albumen carte-de-visite, 8.5 x 5.2 cm: The National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 269: Angel Alonso Martinez, *The Queen and King of Spain* (c. 1860), albumen print, 9.2 x 6.1 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 270: Attributed to François-Benjamin-Maria Delessert, *Empress Eugénie and the Prince Imperial* (1862), albumen silver print from glass negative, 21.6 x 16.0 cm: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 271: Alessandri, *Robert Wiedemann Barrett Browning; Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (19 June 1860), albumen *carte-de-visite*, 9.4 x 5.6 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 272: After John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria* (1860), albumen *carte-de-visite*, 8.5 x 5.2 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 273: D. J. Pound, *Queen Victoria* (1860s), stipple and line engraving, 41.0 x 28.4 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London. Published in *The Illustrated News of the World*.

Fig. 274: Thomas Rodger, *Elizabeth Georgiana (nee Sutherland-Leveson-Gower), Duchess of Argyll* (1860s), albumen *carte-de-visite*, 9.3 x 6.2 cm: The National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 275: *The Duchess of Athole, 1860*, from volume 57 of the Royal Household Portraits (1860), medium unavailable, 8.5 x 5.6 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 276: Camille Silvy, *Louisa Anne Beresford (nee Stuart), Marchioness of Waterford* (27 May 1861), albumen print, 8.6 x 5.6 cm: The National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 277: John Jabez Edwin Mayall, *Queen Victoria* (1861), albumen carte-de-visite, 8.7 x 5.6 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 278: Olympe Aguado de las Marismas, *Empress Eugénie* (1860), albumen silver print from glass negative, 13.49 x 9.21 cm: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 279: William Henry Southwell, *Queen Victoria* (1860), albumen *carte-de-vistie*, 8.5 x 5.3 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

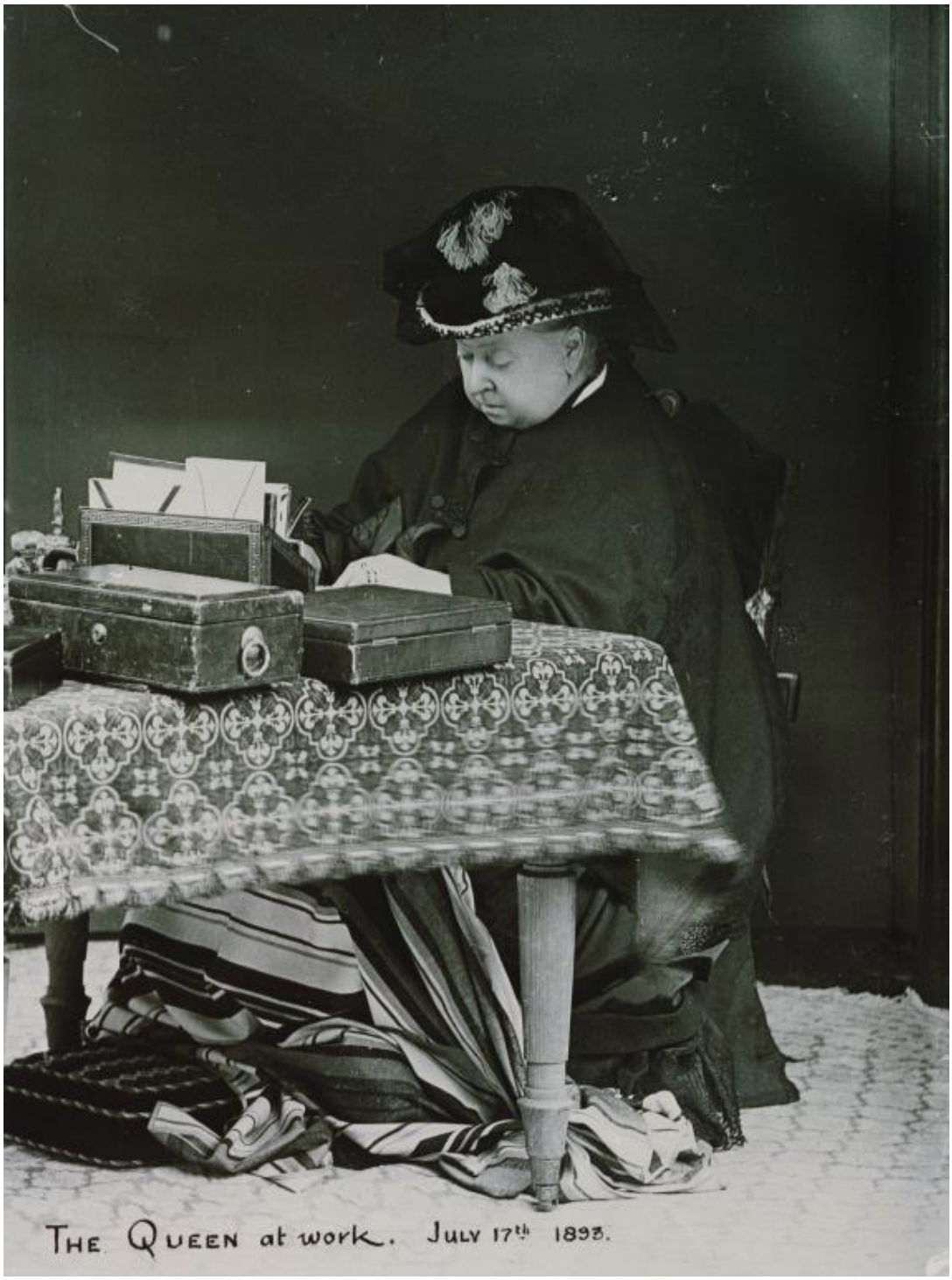


Fig. 280: Hills & Saunders, *Queen Victoria working in the gardens at Frogmore House, 1893* (17 July 1893), gelatin silver photographic print, 21.6 x 16.3 cm: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.

Fig. 281: Samuel Alexander Walker, *Elizabeth Georgiana (nee Sutherland-Leveson-Gower), Duchess of Argyll* (1860s), albumen *carte-de-visite*, 8.8 x 5.7 cm: The National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 282: Camille Silvy, *Frances Elizabeth Jocelyn (nee Cowper), Viscountess Jocelyn* (1860), albumen print, 8.5 x 5.6 cm: The National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 283: Henry Lenthall (printer) after William Edward Kilburn (photographer), *Florence Nightingale* (1854), albumen carte-de-visite, 8.7 x 5.4 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 284: Charles Clifford, *Queen Isabella II of Spain* (early 1860s), albumen carte-de-visite, 8.8 x 6.1 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 285: Charles Clifford, *Queen Victoria* (14 November 1861), albumen carte-de-visite, 8.8 x 5.8 cm: National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 286: After William John Alais (?), *Queen Victoria* (circa 1850-1865), stipple engraving on paper, 27.1 x 19.2 cm: The British Museum.